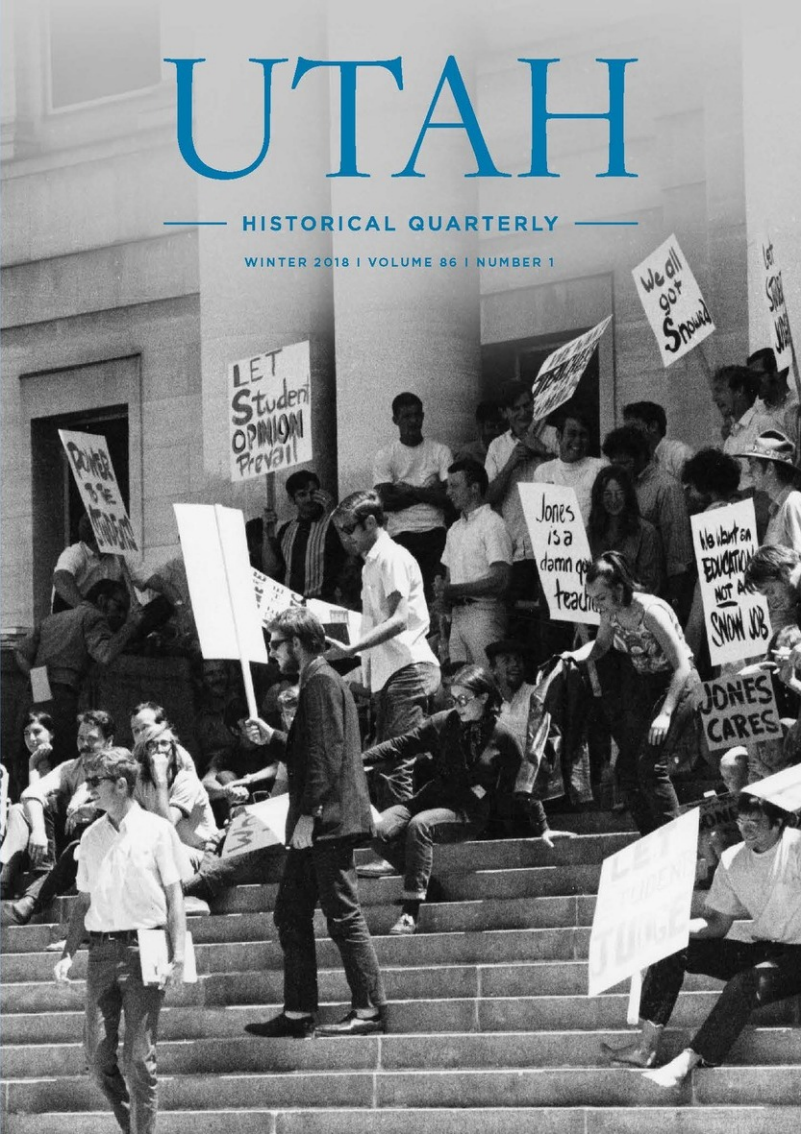
UTAH

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

WINTER 2018 | VOLUME 86 | NUMBER 1



UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Utah Historical Quarterly is Utah's journal of record, published quarterly on behalf of the Utah State Historical Society since 1928. The *UHQ's* mission, from its earliest issues to the present, is to publish articles on all aspects of Utah history, as well to present Utah in the larger context of the West. Even as *UHQ* continues its commitment to themes traditionally associated with Utah history, it challenges readers and authors to think across state lines to the forces of history, physiography, and culture that link Utah to a host of people, places, experiences, and trends beyond its geopolitical boundaries. *UHQ* seeks a regional approach, reflecting Utah's geographic and cultural position at the crossroads of the West.

UHQ's editorial style emphasizes scholarly credibility and accessible language. Manuscripts dealing with any aspect of Utah history will be considered. Submissions based on allied disciplines—such as archaeology, folklore, or ethnography—are also encouraged, so long as the focus is on the past.

For submission and style guidelines visit history.utah.gov/submissions. Articles and book reviews represent the views of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Utah State Historical Society.

EDITORIAL STAFF

Brad Westwood — Publisher/Editor
Holly George — Co-Managing Editor
Jedediah S. Rogers — Co-Managing Editor
Alexandria Waltz — Editorial Fellow

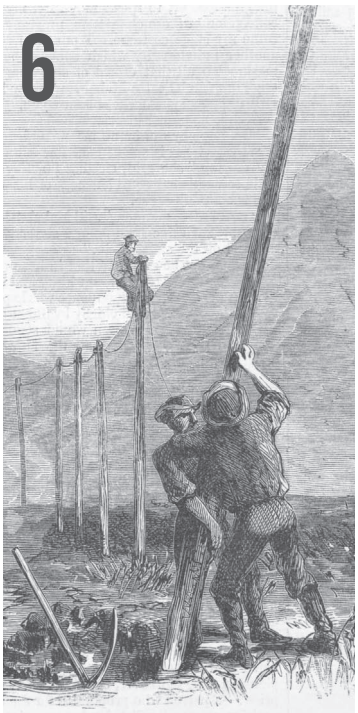
ADVISORY BOARD OF EDITORS

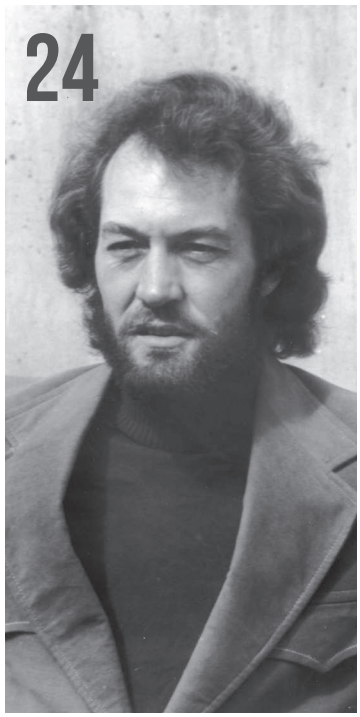
Brian Q. Cannon, Provo, 2019
Craig Fuller, Salt Lake City, 2018
Lee Ann Kreutzer, Salt Lake City, 2018
Kathryn L. MacKay, Ogden, 2020
Jeffrey D. Nichols, Mountain Green, 2018
Clint Pumphrey, Logan, 2018
W. Paul Reeve, Salt Lake City, 2018
John Sillito, Ogden, 2020
Ronald G. Watt, South Jordan, 2020
Rebecca Andersen, 2020
Larry Gerlach, 2020

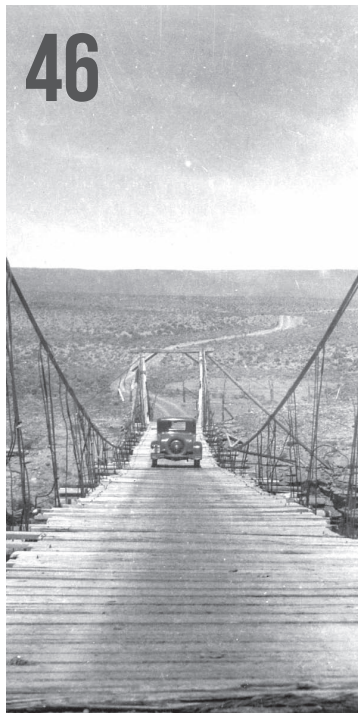
In 1897, public-spirited Utahns organized the Utah State Historical Society in order to expand public understanding of Utah's past. Today, the Utah Division of State History administers the Society and, as part of its statutory obligations, publishes the Utah Historical Quarterly (ISSN 0 042-143X), which has collected and preserved Utah's history since 1928. The Division, which is part of the Utah Department of Heritage and Arts, also collects materials related to the history of Utah and makes them available online and in a research library; assists communities, agencies, building owners, and consultants with state and federal processes regarding archaeological and historical resources; administers the ancient human remains program; administers the Utah History Day program; offers extensive online resources; and assists in public policy and the promotion of Utah's rich history.

UHQ appears in winter, spring, summer, and fall. Members of the Society receive *UHQ* upon payment of annual dues: individual, $30; institution, $40; student and senior (age 65 or older), $25; business, $40; sustaining, $40; patron, $60; sponsor, $100. Visit history.utah.gov/become-a-member to join the Utah State Historical Society and receive your own copy of the journal.

POSTMASTER: Send address change to *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 300 S. Rio Grande, Salt Lake City, Utah 84101. Periodicals postage is paid at Salt Lake City, Utah.







CONTENTS

6 **GHOSTS OF MOUNTAIN DELL:**
Transportation and Technological Change in the Wasatch Mountains
By Cullen Battle

24 **REEXAMINING THE RADICAL:**
Stephen Holbrook and the Utah Strategy for Protesting the Vietnam War
By Scott Thomas

46 **DAGGETT COUNTY AT 100:**
New Approaches to a Colorful Past
By Clint Pumphrey

DEPARTMENTS

58 **"MAKE ME AN AUTHOR:"**
Arcadia Publishing and the "Images of America" Series—A Critique of Selected Utah Titles
By Noel A. Carmack

3 **IN THIS ISSUE**
63 **BOOK REVIEWS**
69 **UHQ EDITORIAL FELLOWSHIP**
73 **CONTRIBUTORS**
74 **UTAH IN FOCUS**

BOOK REVIEWS

63 **WHITHER THE WATERS:**
Mapping the Great Basin from Bernardo de Miera to John C. Frémont.
By John L. Kessell. Reviewed by Paul Nelson

64 **FROM CALIFORNIA'S GOLD FIELDS TO THE MENDOCINO COAST:**
A Settlement History Across Time and Place.
By Samuel M. Otterstrom. Reviewed by Christopher Herbert

65 **SWEET FREEDOM'S PLAINS:**
African Americans on the Overland Trails, 1841–1869.
By Shirley Ann Wilson Moore. Reviewed by W. Paul Reeve

66 **FIGHTING IN CANYON COUNTRY:**
Native American Conflict, 500 AD to the 1920s.
By Robert S. McPherson. Reviewed by John D. Barton

67 **AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND THE BIRTH OF MODERN MORMONISM, 1867—1940.**
By Thomas W. Simpson. Allyson Mower

BOOK NOTICES

68 **JERSEY GOLD:**
The Newark Overland Company's Trek to California, 1849.
By Margaret Casterline Bowen and Gwendolyn Joslin Hills.

68 **ON THE WAY TO SOMEWHERE ELSE:**
European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930.
By Michael W. Homer.

IN THIS ISSUE

The *Utah Historical Quarterly* has historically seen itself as a state journal that explores Utah history in the regional context of the American West. For all of the focus on Utah history, the *UHQ* sought to address frameworks and subjects beyond the state's geopolitical boundaries to those across the Great Basin, Colorado Plateau, and greater Intermountain West.

Over the last ninety years, the journal has published articles that have variously looked at Utah history as an entity in itself and others that have placed it within a regional context. Both approaches can lead to fine works of history. But we are committed to the idea that to deeply understand Utah, readers must interact with a host of overlapping subjects and geographical contexts, often offered in combination with history's allied fields (geography, archeology, cultural studies, and others). With this in mind, the editorial team, with approval of the Advisory Board of Editors, revised our editorial statement to affirm our commitment to a regional, interdisciplinary approach to Utah history. This statement will be published in the inside front cover of each issue.

In the twenty-first century, with the wide availability of information, the fracturing and specialization of subject matter, and, even, the loss of faith in a shared body of knowledge, the *UHQ* aspires as we have done since 1928 to bring you evidentiary, peer-reviewed history that spans across all regions and pertains to all groups and communities that make Utah home. To continue to make that happen, we are pleased to announce the creation of the Miriam B. Murphy / Thomas G. Alexander Editorial Fellow. In partnership with the History Department at the University of Utah and the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University, this academic-year award is offered to a deserving candidate enrolled in the University of Utah's history graduate program. This year the Miriam B. Murphy Editorial Fellow is Alexandria Waltz, and we are currently accepting applications for the Thomas G. Alexander Editorial Fellow to work alongside *UHQ* staff during the 2018–2019 academic year. For more on the fellowship and its namesakes, see pages 69-71.

We are deeply grateful to the History Department at the University of Utah and to the Redd Center at Brigham Young University for their financial assistance and partnership to make the Fellow award possible. Fundraising in the years to come will be needed, and if the pursuit and publishing of exceptional history interests you, I would be delighted to speak to you about financial contributions to this annual editorial appointment. The Fellow award is but one area of close collaboration between the journal and the state's institutions of higher learning.

Finally, before I introduce this issue's articles, I invite each of you to take part in our 2018 annual statewide theme and conference, *Transportation and Movement*. In recognition of the upcoming commemoration of America's first transcontinental railroad in May 1869, the Utah State Historical Society aims to highlight this singular national historical event and the centrality of transportation and movement in Utah and western history. Archaeology and Preservation Month in May, with its associated partnership events held across Utah, will center on this theme, as will a host of other events and exhibitions sponsored or supported by the Society. The year culminates with the 66th annual Utah History Conference to be held at the Cultural Celebration Center on September 27–28. There, scholars, academics, public historians, local historians, educators, film documentarians, book dealers, and people interested in history will explore the latest scholarship, writing, and sources on this theme and other aspects of Utah history. I thank all of you for your participation at past conferences and, more broadly, for your love of and interest in what we do at the Society. By attending the conference and lectures, reading the *UHQ*, and perusing online

materials, I hope you see the value that the Society brings to the study and public consumption of history in Utah.

The essays in this issue bring attention to topics that will be intimately familiar to some readers. In the nineteenth century, overland pioneers and travelers to Salt Lake City frequently passed through Mountain Dell, located as it was along the emigrants' road. Today, it is a fly-by place in Parley's Canyon along the Interstate 80 corridor where golfers and Nordic skiers go for recreation. Our first essay contextualizes the changes that occurred there, from a way station and village community with a school, post office, and other amenities, to Salt Lake City water works that displaced local residents on behalf of watershed protection.

Some readers may remember, and even possibly participated in, the antiwar protests of the Vietnam era. The second essay centers on Stephen Holbrook, a young Utahan inspired by his participation in the Freedom Summer Project in Mississippi, who led antiwar demonstrations in his home state. The work published here examines the cultural and religious factors that contributed to Holbrook's world view that emphasized cooperation and collaboration over antagonism and violence. The Utah scene and the movement Holbrook orchestrated, with its relatively few violent disturbances, complicate popular perceptions of protests nationwide.

Our final essays reflect on the local histories that surround us all. In this issue, spurred on by local leader and Manila, Utah, resident RaNae Wilde, we offer reflections on a county and its communities that have traditionally received little love in the historical literature about Utah. The place: Daggett County. The occasion: the county's centennial commemoration. As the smallest county in the state's geopolitical configuration, Daggett is sparsely populated and geographically isolated, at least from Utah, since it is more associated with and easily accessible from Wyoming's Green River basin. Our third essays reflects on the oft-ignored themes associated with Daggett, as well as it historical, cultural, and political position in the Intermountain West. Finally, we publish a review essay that evaluates the work and contribution of one of the most ubiquitous publishers of local history, Arcadia Publishing. From works on local communities by local authors, Arcadia fills a niche for histories that are familiar and reflect the nostalgia of a people.

Brad Westwood
Publisher/Editor

SAVE THE DATE

66TH ANNUAL UTAH HISTORY CONFERENCE

TRANSPORTATION AND MOVEMENT

The 66th Annual Utah History Conference will take a deep dive into the themes of transportation and movement. We will examine movement in the context of exploration, industry, and travel, and on more conceptual levels: the variation and transformation of the landscape, the flow of ideas and people into and out of the state, the mobility of groups and individuals, the development of transportation-related infrastructure, and the transportation and communication networks connecting the state to regional and national systems. This theme will include the study and commemoration of America's first transcontinental railroad completed and joined at Promontory Point, Utah Territory, on May 10, 1869.

The call for papers to participate as a speaker at the conference will be open until April 1, 2018. We invite the public, scholars, students, policymakers, and organizations to submit proposals for papers, panels, or multimedia presentations on this theme. Submissions on other aspects of Utah history will also be considered. We welcome a range of formats, from the traditional panels and sessions to more innovative formats. We encourage full session or panel submissions, though we will make every effort to match single paper proposals with other panels and papers. Visit history.utah.gov for more information.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1897

Utah Cultural Celebration Center,

September 27–28, 2018

Tracks of the Denver & Rio Grande Western in Parleys Canyon, ca. 1900. The view is from a mile above the mouth of Lamb's Canyon, looking west toward Mountain Dell. The rail bed on the north side of Parleys Canyon (right side of the photo) is still visible from Interstate 80. (USHS)

GHOSTS OF MOUNTAIN DELL:
TRANSPORTATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE IN THE WASATCH MOUNTAINS

BY CULLEN BATTLE

According to a common definition, a *dell* is a "small secluded wooded valley" tucked away from the rest of civilization.[1] Such a place sits above Salt Lake City about seven miles up Parley's Canyon. Called "Mountain Dell," it begins at the confluence of Mountain Dell Creek and Parleys Creek, extending in a V-shaped valley about three miles upstream along both creeks. It is a large, open, relatively flat area in the heart of the rugged Wasatch Mountains. The valley floor rests at an elevation of about six thousand feet and is encircled by low mountains of around eight thousand feet. The north-facing slopes support healthy groves of Douglas and white fir, interspersed with large stands of quaking aspen. Elsewhere, the hillsides are thickly covered with scrub—mostly Gambel oak and bigtooth maple. Cottonwoods and a variety of riparian shrubs line the stream bottoms.

Today, no one lives at Mountain Dell. There are no commercial establishments, no industries, and no farms. Mountain Dell is in Salt Lake City's watershed protection zone, where human pursuits are limited to water supply facilities and outdoor recreation. A city park with a golf course and cross-country ski trails occupy the Parleys Creek arm. The Mountain Dell Creek arm contains two municipal reservoirs, called Mountain Dell and Little Dell. A small recreation area sits on the northwest shore of Little Dell Reservoir. Interstate 80 runs east-west along Parleys Creek, while State Highway 65 runs north-east along Mountain Dell Creek and over Big Mountain Pass.

What one encounters at Mountain Dell today belies a rich history of habitation and commerce.[2] Although the untrained eye sees no sign of this history, Mountain Dell was once a stop on the Mormon and California Trails and later became an important way-station on the Central Overland Route, the nation's primary east-west mail and stagecoach route. When the transcontinental telegraph and railroad rendered the Central Overland Route obsolete, Mountain Dell morphed into an agricultural village, thriving in relative seclusion until Salt Lake City began taking its drinking water from Parleys Creek. To combat an outbreak of water-borne disease, the city launched a campaign to purify the watershed by buying up or condemning all the farms and homes in Mountain Dell, turning the area into the natural preserve that we know today. This is the story of how forces related to transportation, communications, and water development shaped the birth, growth, and eventual demise of a small western community, and how the unfolding of these forces provided a window on many important events in Utah's history. This is also a story of how the last historic remnants of the Mountain Dell community were erased by modern-day water projects and land management policies and how these policies shaped in new ways land that was developed and farmed over a century ago.

James Clyman, who in company with Lansford W. Hastings traveled eastward from California through Utah, was the first explorer to record his impressions of the Mountain Dell area. "Not verry rocky, but awfull brushy" is how he described it on June 3, 1846.[3] Clyman trekked through the Great Basin and traversed the Wasatch Mountains at a time when Americans were widely awakening to the idea of western migration. The United States was then at war with Mexico and would soon acquire California, where gold would be discovered, and a huge area consisting of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming. In the Midwest, the Mormons were on the move from Nauvoo, Illinois, to their westward staging area on the Missouri River. Mountain Dell would be right in the middle of the people and forces then in motion.

Clyman's passage through Mountain Dell came while scouting a new overland route to California through Utah and the deserts of the Great Basin. This route diverged from the Oregon Trail at Fort Bridger, Wyoming, and followed Echo Canyon to East Canyon, where it passed over Big and Little Mountains and down Emigration Canyon to the Salt Lake Valley and beyond. In various permutations, it came to be known as the Hastings Cut-off, the Donner-Reed Trail, the Mormon Trail, and the Central Overland Route. People in Utah called it the Emigrant Road, which is how I will refer to it.

The first migrants to use the new route—and to pass through Mountain Dell—were members of the Donner Party in August 1846. They had no road to follow, only the faintest markings of a trail left by Clyman and Hastings. The "awfull brushy" conditions described by Clyman proved to be their undoing. Slowed by their passage through the Wasatch Mountains (a trek that took fifteen days total, including ten days to hack their way from the foot of Big Mountain to the mouth of Emigration Canyon, a distance of only twenty miles), the Donner Party eventually arrived at the eastern wall of the Sierras one day after snow had closed the pass through the mountains. That winter, survivors endured unspeakable conditions trapped in the mountains.[4]

Brigham Young's advance party came through Mountain Dell a year later, a group that widened and improved the route. With the arrival of the main company of Mormons later that year, the new route started to become a road that could sustain human migration, and Mountain Dell was the last good rest stop on the trail before entering the Salt Lake Valley.[5] Birch Springs, along the upper reaches of Mountain Dell Creek at present-day Affleck Park, was "a tolerably good camp ground in case of necessity."[6] Camp Grant was a better stopping place four miles down the creek, just before the trail turned up Little Mountain.[7] Many early travelers camped there and remarked on the beauty of the setting. The first was the Donner Party's James Frazier Reed, who, in a rare moment of relaxation during his fifteen-day struggle to cross the Wasatch in 1846, described the place as "a neat little valley [with] fine water and good grass."[8] Like many pioneers who died and were buried along the trail, Camp Grant is buried under Little Dell Dam.[9]

During the 1840s and 1850s, successive parties of Latter-day Saints and fortune seekers bound for the California gold fields established the Emigrant Road as one of the principal routes between the eastern states and California. Carriers and transport companies incorporated the road into a U.S. mail and stagecoach route, allowing passengers and mail to travel across the nation by land instead of taking an ocean vessel by way of Panama or Cape Horn. Although service was slow and often unreliable, this was an important first step in establishing a land-based travel and communications network linking California and the new western territories to the rest of the nation.

Everyone agreed that the passes over Big Mountain and Little Mountain, coming into and leaving Mountain Dell, were the most difficult along the entire road between Missouri and Salt Lake City.[10] In both cases, the road went straight up one side of the mountain and down the other. There were no switchbacks as there are now. One California-bound migrant described the scene at the western side of Little Mountain in 1852:

> locking the wheels of our wagons we began to descend the steepest, roughest and most unchristianlike road that man ever traveled. Good luck attended us and we alighted in safety and camped at the foot of the hill, where we had a full view of the tide of immigration as it came tumbling down the steep incline. Sometimes the wagons would take the lead and drag the teams after them until brought up by some great boulder, when wagon, oxen, women and children would tumble together in one confused mass, amid the wreck of which would soon be heard the cries of women, the screams of children and the swearing of men.[11]

Despite these difficulties, opportunities abounded for those seeking to profit from the traffic passing through Mountain Dell. In 1855, a man named Hatch was the first to settle near present-day Hatch Canyon, northeast of Little Dell Reservoir.[12] Travelers reported an unfriendly proprietor, although his establishment, conveniently located between Big and Little Mountains, must have provided welcome relief from the hardships of the trail.[13] No evidence of the Hatch place remains.[14]

Ephraim Hanks next arrived on the scene. Hanks had been a member of the Mormon Battalion and was reputed to be one of Brigham Young's "Destroying Angels," a group of vigilantes that included Porter Rockwell and Wild Bill Hickman. In 1851, Hanks and his associate, Charles Decker, went to work for Feramorz Little, who had a contract to carry U.S. mail between Salt Lake City and Fort Laramie, Wyoming.[15] All three of these men would later own property at Mountain Dell.[16] They also participated in the rescue of the Willie and Martin Handcart Companies in 1856, a rescue that was assembled and staged from a camp in Mountain Dell.[17]

Hanks carried the mail until 1857, earning a description by the eastern press as "the most daring and intrepid of the Mormon mail conductors."[18] He lost the job when the federal government annulled the mail contract at the same time President James Buchanan dispatched troops to Utah Territory.[19] After the winds of war had blown over, Hanks saw a need for a trading post and stagecoach station on the Emigrant Road, which he established in 1858 at the northwest end of what is now Little Dell Reservoir, not far from the Hatch place. He called his station "Mountain Dell"—the first recorded use of that name.[20]

Most visitors to the station were handcart pioneers and other migrants, thousands of whom streamed along the Emigrant Road in the 1850s and 1860s. They included ten-year-old Isabelle Siddoway, traveled from England by ship to the east coast, then overland to Florence, Nebraska (formerly Winter Quarters, now Omaha).[21] Along the way, Isabelle lost her mother, and in early June 1860, with her father and two younger brothers, she set out with a handcart company and walked the thousand miles from Nebraska to Salt Lake City. Her company, like most, ran short of provisions, and in late September, Isabelle arrived at Mountain Dell exhausted and famished. Years later, she remembered the moment:

> Suddenly, we were there. What a heavenly spot—I loved it. Near the

Mountain Dell Station in Ephraim K. Hanks Home at Mountain Dell by Dan Weggeland. In the 1880s Francis Armstrong commissioned Weggeland to make four paintings of Mountain Dell, this one depicting conditions thirty years previous. It is the only known image of the Mountain Dell Station. The view is to the north, with Mountain Dell Creek to the right of the buildings. Allen Roberts and Maxine Hanks were the first to use these paintings to interpret Mountain Dell's history. (USHS)

> road was a spring with such water as I had never tasted before. The barn and buildings were to our left. Hay was ready for gathering for winter storage. The odors of the hay and this beautiful valley enveloped me. The Pony Express Station had a little garden for vegetables and potatoes. The man there was nice to me. I asked him if I could tickle out a potato or two and have some little green onions. He laughed and told me to go ahead. Oh that meal! It comes to me yet.[22]

The most prized visitors to the station were hungry stage passengers who could afford to buy a big meal. From 1858 to 1862, several luminaries passed through Mountain Dell recording their impressions of the place and its proprietor. The first, in 1859, was Horace Greeley, a prominent newspaper editor, politician, and promoter of westward expansion who had embarked on a transcontinental journey to see the American West. His stagecoach stopped at the Mountain Dell Station to get a fresh team of horses, and Greeley was not favorably impressed with the surrounding countryside. He complained of the "wretchedness" of the timber, the "abominable" quality of the road, and the "fearfully steep" ascents and descents of Big Mountain and Little Mountain. In the end, he asked "how can a region so unblest ever be thickly settled, and profitably cultivated?"[23] For a man who is often credited with the phrase "Go West, young man," Greeley seems to have had little tolerance for the rigors of life in the American West.[24]

Our next traveler was cut from different cloth. At the time of his visit to Mountain Dell in 1860, the Englishman Richard F. Burton was probably the most famous explorer in the world. He had led an expedition in Africa to discover the source of the Nile and had journeyed to Mecca when it was closed to Europeans. Burton reportedly spoke twenty-nine languages, and over his lifetime, authored many books

and pamphlets about his exotic travels. He was now on a journey to learn about the Mormons. Unlike most Englishmen of his time, Burton was open to foreign and exotic cultures, and his book, *The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California*, published in 1861, was an objective and often sympathetic portrait of Mormon life.

When his stagecoach pulled in to Mountain Dell, Burton already knew about Ephraim Hanks and was eager to meet him. Burton described Hanks as a "middle sized . . . good looking man with a pleasant and humorous countenance . . . together with a cool and quiet glance that seemed to shun neither friend nor foe." The two hit it off immediately and joked about Hanks's fearsome reputation. Of Hanks, Burton said that "his cordiality of manner had prepossessed me strongly in his favour."[25]

Burton made another interesting observation, this one concerning the timber around Mountain Dell. Contradicting the report of Horace Greely from the year before, he noted that the eastern slopes of Big Mountain "were grandly wooded with hemlocks, firs, balsam-pines and other varieties of abies [fir]: some tapering up to a height of ninety feet, with an admirable regularity of form, colour and foliage." But he also reported that "[t]he summit of the pass was well nigh cleared of timber; the woodsman's song informed us that the evil work was still going on."[26] According to a commonly cited source, Appleton Milo Harmon, a member of Brigham Young's 1847 party, built a sawmill at the western base of Big Mountain on the headwaters of Mountain Dell Creek capable of sawing 1400 board feet per day. It stands to reason that one of Utah's first sawmills would be located along the Emigrant Road. Harmon used the lumber from this mill to make furniture for sale in Salt Lake City. At least two other early sawmills were located in Lambs Canyon on the headwaters of Parleys Creek, and members of the Hardy family later built at least three more mills at the junction of Mountain Dell and Parleys Creeks.[27] All of this suggests that logging operations may have depleted forests along the Emigrant Road by the time of Greeley's arrival in 1859, and that he may have confused a lack of timber with a resource that had already been exploited.

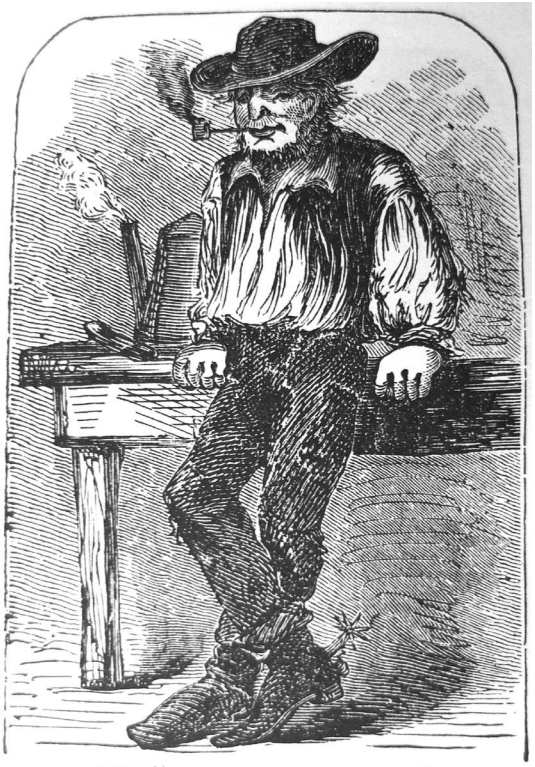
A third notable visitor to pass through the Mountain Dell during this period was 26-year-old Samuel Clemens, who accompanied his older brother on a journey from Missouri to Nevada, where the brother had been appointed territorial secretary. Ten years later, Clemens published *Roughing It*, an account of this journey, under the pen name Mark Twain. Like many others, Clemens marveled at the view from the top of Big Mountain: "when all the world was glorified with the setting sun, and the most stupendous panorama of mountain peaks yet encountered burst on our sight. We looked out upon this sublime spectacle from under the arch of a brilliant rainbow! Even the overland stage-driver stopped his horses and gazed!"[28]

An hour later, Clemens "took supper with a Mormon 'Destroying Angel.'" His written portrait of Hanks was not as charitable as Burton's:

> I had heard a deal about these Mormon Destroying Angels and the dark and bloody deeds they had done, and when I entered this one's house I had my shudder all ready. But alas for all our romances, he was nothing but a loud, profane, offensive, old blackguard! He was murderous enough, possibly, to fill the bill of a Destroyer, but would you have any kind of an Angel devoid of dignity . . . in an unclean shirt and no suspenders . . . with a horse-laugh and a swagger like a buccaneer?

Clemens mentioned "other blackguards present" and a "lot of slatternly women [who] flitted hither and thither in a hurry, with coffee-pots, plates of bread, and other appurtenances to supper, and these were said to be the wives of the Angel—or some of them, at least."[29]

It is interesting to compare early first impressions of Mountain Dell, its proprietor, and the surrounding countryside, and to consider how visitors' perceptions may have been influenced by their individual preconceptions and expectations. Samuel Clemens, the budding humorist, would later admit that "in my earlier writings, my sole idea was to make comic capital out of everything I saw and heard. My ob-



Ephraim Hanks in *Roughing It*. Clemens left behind this pictorial sketch, which seems more in keeping with Isabelle Siddoway's and Richard Burton's description of Hanks.

ject was not to tell the truth, but to make people laugh."[30] Thus, we should take his description of Ephraim Hanks and his family with a grain of salt. Horace Greeley, the social crusader bent on promoting westward expansion as a cure for social ills in the east, was put off by the fact that a population well outside the American mainstream had already claimed a large area of the west for themselves. Of his view from above Mountain Dell taking in the Salt Lake valley and all the valleys to the west, he could only say: "So there will be room enough here for all this strange people for many years."[31] Isabelle Siddoway was one of those strange people, filled with the hopes and dreams of a young woman about to make a new home in the wilderness. Her perceptions were understandably colored by strong emotions. And finally Richard Burton, the clear-eyed, open-minded world explorer who had seen it all before—his observations were likely the most reliable of the group.

As the proprietor of Mountain Dell Station, one of Ephraim Hanks's duties in winter was to clear snow drifts, often ten or twelve feet deep, from the road over Big Mountain. To do the job, he used two oxen named Buck and Blow who "bunted into that bank of snow with such vim . . . bucking and blowing . . . enough to make the student of animals smile with delight."[32] At the time, the Central Overland Route was competing for mail and stagecoach traffic with the southerly and snow-free, but longer, Butterfield Route.[33] Clearing snow from the major mountain passes like Big Mountain was critical to the emergence of the Central Overland Route as the nation's primary east-west mail and stagecoach road.[34] Hanks's efforts seem all the more remarkable when one considers that today, even with modern snow removal equipment, the paved highway over Big Mountain remains closed from November to June.

In the earliest days of the American West, a letter sent from the East could take as long as three months to reach California. The overland route sped things up considerably — about twenty-eight days between Missouri and California, if conditions were good. But a month was still a long time to send a letter halfway across the country. The West's first express mail service, the Pony Express, used a system of relay stations spread about fifteen miles apart at which horses and riders were swapped out; it shortened the Missouri-California leg to ten days.[35]

In Utah, the Pony Express route followed the Emigrant Road, and in 1860, Mountain Dell became the first Pony Express station east of Salt Lake City, a boon to Ephraim Hanks's business. His stepson, George Little, was a Pony Express rider. George rode the forty-six-mile leg between Salt Lake City and the Weber Station at the mouth of Echo Canyon, with stops to change horses at Mountain Dell, East Canyon Creek, and Dixie Hollow. Hanks was known to look after Little and the other riders, often greeting them with a plate of hot food when they came through the station.[36]

The heyday of the Pony Express was short-lived. Technological changes in the form of the transcontinental telegraph and railroad steered traffic away from the Emigrant Road and Hanks's establishment at Mountain Dell. But

the first change affecting Mountain Dell was a new road through Parleys Canyon. Almost immediately upon their arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, the Latter-day Saints began investigating a route that would avoid the difficulties of crossing Big Mountain and Little Mountain. Parley Pratt first opened his toll road in Parleys Canyon in 1850. He billed it as "THE GOLDEN PASS! Or, New Road Through the Mountains . . . avoiding the two great mountains, and most of the Kanyons so troublesome on the old route."[37] Roughly following the route of today's Interstate 80, this road ascended Parleys Canyon and crossed the Wasatch Range at Parleys Summit, before heading down to the Weber River and rejoining the old route at the mouth of Echo Canyon. While the new road passed through Mountain Dell, it did so about two miles south of the Emigrant Road and the Mountain Dell Station.

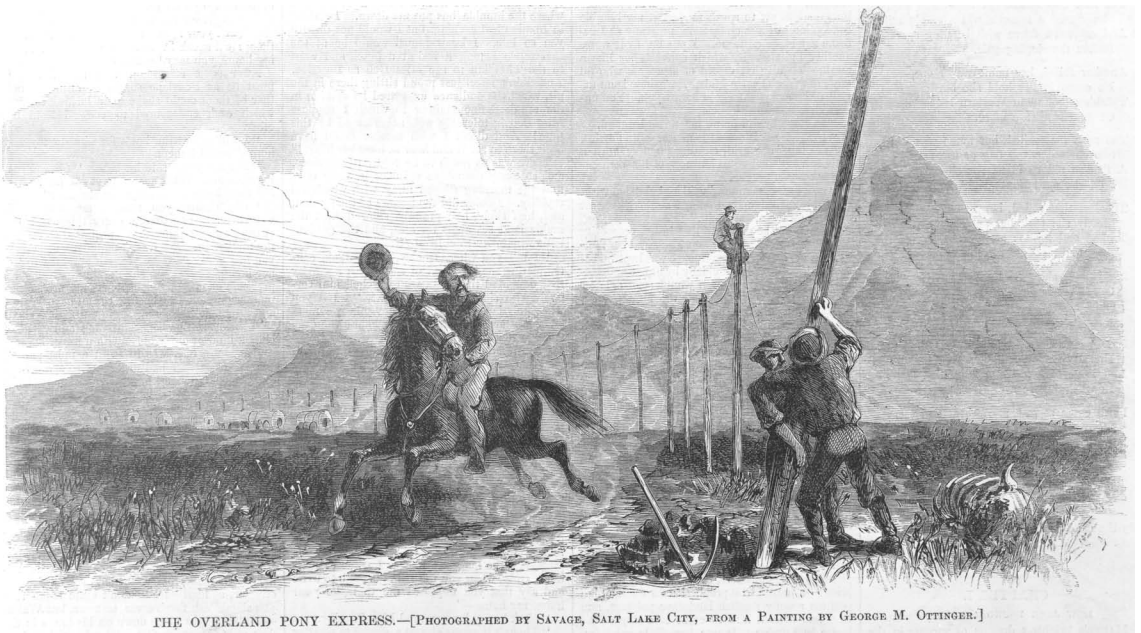
Captain Howard Stansbury was one of the first to travel the new road. His U.S. Army survey party had come to survey the Great Salt Lake, study the flora and fauna of the region, and reconnoiter new routes through the Rocky Mountains. Having spent the bitter winter of 1849 in Salt Lake City under the care of the Mormons, Stansbury returned east the following summer on the new Golden Pass Road. He spent the night of August 29, 1850, at Mountain Dell where his loyal mule, Old Caroline, "who had gone thro' all our hardest trips, gave out." Stansbury entrusted Old Caroline to a "Mr. Haikes" with instructions to send her along with the next wagon if she was able to travel, or if not, to keep her for himself.[38] There is no record of what happened to Old Caroline, but "Mr. Haikes" could well have been Ephraim Hanks, and it is possible that Old Caroline lived out her days at Mountain Dell.

The Golden Pass Road eventually replaced the Emigrant Road, bypassing the Mountain Dell Station, but that would not happen for another twelve years. In 1851, Parley Pratt left on an LDS mission to Chile, and his toll road fell into disrepair. Traffic continued to use the Emigrant Road because it was shorter and toll free.[39]

Meanwhile, another change had dimmed the prospects for the Mountain Dell Station. Foreshadowing the race to build a railroad across the continent eight years later, the transcontinental telegraph was built east from Carson City, Nevada, and west from Omaha, Nebraska. The telegraph followed the Emigrant Road and passed through Mountain Dell. On October 18, 1861, six months after the start of the Civil War, the two lines joined in Salt Lake City, creating what the *Deseret News* called an "electric highway" across the nation.[40] A message that once took three months by sea, one month by stage, or ten days by Pony Express could now be transmitted across the nation instantaneously. Brigham Young used the occasion to send the first transcontinental telegraph message, announcing that "Utah has not seceded, but is firm for the constitution and laws of our once happy country."[41]

The transcontinental telegraph instantly rendered the Pony Express obsolete. Soon, the road through Parleys Canyon emerged as the main east-west thoroughfare and shifted almost all traffic away from the Emigrant Road, spelling doom for the Mountain Dell Station.[42] But one more notable incident occurred at the station before it closed, this time involving the newly appointed territorial governor, John W. Dawson. Within three weeks of his arrival in Salt Lake City, Dawson made advances upon a Mormon widow, who claimed she was forced to defend herself with a fire shovel.[43] Word of the incident got around, and Dawson left town on a mail coach on New Year's Eve, 1861. As Dawson later reported, he ran into Ephraim Hanks, who warned him that "there were some desperate men in the city who . . . might follow me for violence or plunder." Sure enough, that night at the Mountain Dell Station, a gang set upon Dawson and beat him badly. Once he had escaped to Wyoming, Dawson wrote to the *Deseret News* identifying his assailants.[44] Within a week, several were arrested, but three ringleaders fled to the West Desert. Porter Rockwell pursued them, returning with three prisoners, "two living and one dead." When Rockwell turned over the two living prisoners to the Salt Lake City Police, they attempted to run and were "shot at and both killed before getting far away."[45] Although other crimes against "outsiders" in early Utah went unpunished, the attack upon Governor Dawson apparently was not one of them.[46]

Shortly after the Dawson affair, Ephraim Hanks sold his Mountain Dell holdings to



The Overland Pony Express, by C.R. Savage from a painting by George M. Ottinger, originally published in *Harper's Weekly*, November 2, 1867. This lithograph and painting by two well-known Salt Lake City artists shows a Pony Express rider waving his hat to men building the new technological marvel that would soon eliminate his occupation.

Charles Decker, his fellow scout and partner in the mail carrying business, and left the area. Decker farmed the property for several more years.[47] By 1863, another station had sprung up, this one along the Parleys Canyon Road, called Hardy's Station or Hardy's Place, located at the confluence of Mountain Dell Creek and Parleys Creek.[48] The station served as a stop on the Wells, Fargo & Co. stage line.[49] Leonard W. Hardy, a prominent Mormon authority, was the owner. In addition to a hotel, Hardy and his relatives operated a large hay farm, probably in the meadows now covered by Little Dell Reservoir, and several water-powered mills near the station from which he supplied lath and lumber to Salt Lake City.[50]

Stagecoach, mail, and wagon traffic continued using the Parleys Canyon Road for the better part of the 1860s, much as it had the Emigrant Road previously.[51] New on the road were large "church trains," made up of wagons sent from Salt Lake City to haul freight to Nebraska and return with fresh converts.[52] But in 1869, overland travel entirely shifted with completion of the transcontinental railroad. Instead of following the Emigrant Road over Big and Little Mountains, or the road through Parleys Canyon, the Union Pacific drilled and blasted its way through Weber Canyon and emerged from the Wasatch Mountains at Ogden, Utah. The joining of the rails at Promontory ended regional traffic on the Central Overland Route, and for the first time a major east-west transportation corridor did not run through Mountain Dell. The Emigrant Road all but disappeared, and the Parleys Canyon Road now served local traffic only, mostly wagons hauling coal from Coalville to Salt Lake City.[53] Even the telegraph line was relocated to Weber Canyon alongside the railroad.[54]

During the ensuing decades of relative quiet and isolation, Mountain Dell became the secluded valley suggested by its name. A new agricultural community emerged, one that residents hoped would be a permanent and prosperous settlement. The *Deseret News* published a traveler's description of the small new community in 1867:

> At Hardy's station 14 miles from the city in Parleys canon we found a branch of the church lately organized numbering about 40 souls in rather a scattered condition. Their meetings

> are held at present in a bowery. There is here a saw mill lath mill and turning lathe. There is but little farming done at the place but some potatoes, peas and other vegetables looked very well. . . . From Hardy's station there are quite a number of families scattered along much exposed to Indians.[55]

In 1871, prominent Salt Lake City businessman Francis Armstrong purchased the Hanks place, along with 1,200 surrounding acres.[56] His wife, Isabelle Siddoway Armstrong—the girl who came to the Mountain Dell Station with a handcart company in 1860—was now on her way to becoming one of Salt Lake City's wealthiest ladies. Of her initial encounter with Mountain Dell as a child she said, "little did I know that not many years ahead I would own all that lovely spot and spend wonderful summer months there with my children."[57] Francis, Isabelle, and their family used the place as a summer home and a farm to raise racehorses and prize cattle and sheep.[58] In 1878, the Armstrongs built a stone farm house that stood on the property until 1999. For many years, people believed that this house was the old Pony Express station, but the historical research of Maxine Hanks, the analysis of the Dan Weggeland paintings by Maxine Hanks and Allen Roberts, and related archeological investigations in 1989 and 1994, revealed that the station had been torn down sometime after construction of the farm house.[59]

During the ensuing decades of relative quiet and isolation, Mountain Dell became the secluded valley suggested by its name.

Other settlers clustered their homesteads and farms around Hardy's Station at the confluence of Mountain Dell and Parleys Creeks, also called "The Forks," where "all kinds of small grain and potatoes are raised without irrigation." In 1877, the population consisted of "eleven Mormon families, and two families of 'outsiders.'"[60] By the 1880s, twenty families, many of Danish origin, had made their home there. Services and amenities included a post office (1881), the LDS Mountain Dell Ward (1882), the Mountain Dell School District (1888), and, for a time, the "Birch Grove" summer resort to accommodate visitors. Public buildings included a church meeting house built of logs in 1877 and a two-story rock school house—attended by up to thirty-four children—built in 1892. William B. Hardy, Leonard Hardy's son, was the Mor-

Armstrong Farm at Mountain Dell, by Dan Weggeland, depicting conditions in the late 1880s. The former stage and pony express station is likely one of the wooden buildings in the center of the painting. The view is to the northeast. The field on the right is now flooded by the upper end of Little Dell Reservoir. (Courtesy Richard Murray)

mon bishop, chairman of the school district, and overall community leader.[61] At the turn of the century, Mountain Dell, with a population of 325, had all the charm of a country village. Edgar Levi Young described it in the *Deseret News* as "a plain, unpretentious village, nestling in among the hills and giving off an air of dreamy solitariness [where] on a Sunday morning, humble farmer boys and fair noble country girls make their way quietly along the road."[62]

Building a railroad through Parleys Canyon was another dream in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Soon after completing the transcontinental railroad, the Union Pacific completed a spur line from Echo to the coal fields at Coalville, giving it a virtual monopoly on the supply of coal to Salt Lake City. Local wagons plying the Parleys Canyon Road were its only competition. When the railroad raised coal prices and created a fuel crisis in Salt Lake City, local leaders resolved to break the Union Pacific monopoly by building their own railroad from Coalville to Salt Lake City, passing through Parleys Canyon. Starting at Echo, their effort got under way in 1879, but the line made it only as far as Park City. The Union Pacific lowered prices and built its own line alongside the local line. The local venture soon collapsed and was absorbed into the Union Pacific system.[63]

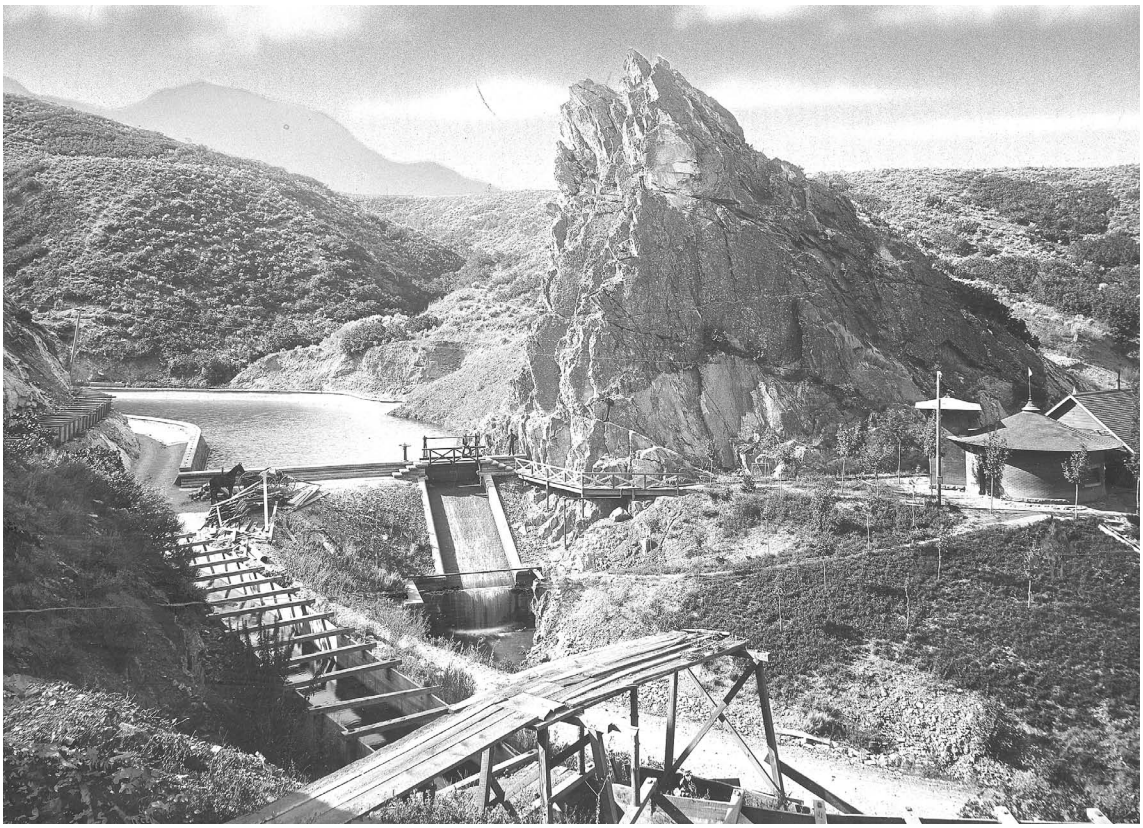
The demise of Utah's "Coal Road" did not end hopes for a line up Parleys Canyon with a stop at Mountain Dell. Local businessmen and church leaders finally succeeded in building this railroad, called the Utah Central, in 1889. Its primary purpose was to haul silver ores from mines in Park City to smelters in the Salt Lake valley. While it did not restore Mountain Dell's position on a major transportation route, the railroad at least connected Mountain Dell with its neighbors to the east and west. Like the Coal Road, the Utah Central struggled financially and was soon bought out by the Rio Grande Western Railroad. It operated until 1946 as the Park City Branch of the Denver & Rio Grande Western.[64]

According to a story told by Francis Armstrong's descendants, a train conductor came into the Salt Lake City offices one day complaining that "some fool" on a horse would race the train down Parleys Canyon, jumping the track just in front of the train. To which Francis Armstrong, now Salt Lake City mayor, replied, "Well sir, I am that fool. I have enough confidence in myself and my horse to know that I am in no danger."[65]

As the last decade of nineteenth century drew to a close, the outlook for the small but thriving community of Mountain Dell appeared promising. But an event had occurred earlier in that decade that would have dire consequences for the community. In 1892 Salt Lake City, intending to supplement its drinking water supplies with water from Parleys Creek, built Utah's first municipal culinary water storage reservoir at the mouth of Parleys Canyon, abutting the rock formation popularly known as Suicide Rock.[66] The farms and homes at Mountain Dell threatened the purity of the municipal water supply, and city officials would soon embark upon a program to eliminate the threat.

"Watershed" is a term often used to describe the beginning of something. But for the community of Mountain Dell, it meant the beginning of the end. Utah's drinking water systems at the turn of the twentieth century were untreated and unfiltered. Water ran directly from mountain streams, through canals or pipes, and into homes. Contamination of water sources from human and animal wastes often led to city-wide outbreaks of typhoid and cholera.[67] This grim reality, made worse by Utah's scarcity of water sources, led to municipal efforts to protect large areas of watershed by prohibiting activities that could lead to contamination. These efforts began in City Creek Canyon, and soon spread to Parleys Canyon.[68]

In Mountain Dell, the city began buying up properties with animal lots and outhouses next to the creeks. The small landowners were the first to go, and the village quickly de-populated. Soon, the post office closed, and the school district and ward dissolved. By about 1907, most residents had given up their homes and farms, and Mountain Dell became—and remains today—an area devoted to watershed protection.[69] Perhaps the greatest irony was that Mayor Francis Armstrong had initiated the effort to turn Parleys Creek into a culinary water source.[70] He likely did not anticipate the effect of his actions on the Mountain Dell community, nor did he live to see the day his family had to



Waterworks at mouth of Parleys Canyon, circa 1900. Salt Lake City built this reservoir seven miles downstream of Mountain Dell in the early 1890s to supply drinking water to city residents. C. R. Savage Photo. (USHS)

part with his Mountain Dell farm. Francis died in 1899, and Isabelle deeded the property to the city two years later.[71]

Not everyone was willing to sell immediately. Several large landowners held out for high prices, and it would take Salt Lake City until about 1920 to complete the program of buying out private properties in Mountain Dell.[72] But it did not take long to confirm the need for the program. In 1903, a typhoid epidemic broke out in Salt Lake City, infecting hundreds.[73] The source of the disease was traced to the water from Parleys Creek, specifically to a farm in Lamb's Canyon upstream of Mountain Dell.[74] The outbreak drew attention to the remaining holdouts, such as William Roach, who had built a hotel on his farm on Parleys Creek at the upper end of the present-day golf course. An investigative report by the *Salt Lake Tribune* identified conditions at the aptly named Roach's Half-way Roadhouse as "a perennial death's picnic for Salt Lake." The report identified both human and animal waste finding its way into the Parleys Canyon drainage: "[a]ll the sewerage of the settlement has its outlet in the creek, along with the washwater, slops, garbage and everything else the people up there may see fit to throw into the water to be carried off."[75]

These conditions triggered a decade-long legal war between city officials and the Mountain Dell holdouts, which tested the city's ability to protect its drinking water sources. At the time, watershed jurisdiction extended only ten miles above the water system's intake, short of the source of the 1903 typhoid outbreak.[76] Within this jurisdiction, the city's only legal recourse was to bring misdemeanor prosecutions for "befouling water," which it did against Roach and others on several occasions. The defendants claimed vested rights because they had purchased properties and built farms before city officials added Parleys Creek to its water supply.[77] Salt Lake City's track record in these cases was mixed.[78] Eventually, a case against Mountain Dell holdout Seymour B. Young made it to the Utah Supreme Court, which issued an

opinion in 1915 affirming the city's power to curtail pollution sources in its watershed.[79]

Armed with this opinion, the city combined persistent misdemeanor prosecutions with generous buyout offers and eventually managed to clear the canyon of pollution sources. In 1917, the city built another dam on Parleys Creek to increase its water storage capability, this one in Mountain Dell, at the confluence of Mountain Dell and Parleys Creeks.[80] The resulting Mountain Dell Reservoir flooded the remains of the homes, farms, and public buildings that had grown up around Hardy's Station. Today, no trace of that village exists.

The technological advancements that allowed the development of far-flung municipal water systems—concrete dams, spillways, conduits, aqueducts, and screening tanks—doomed the community at Mountain Dell. Ironically, a further advancement might have spared it. By 1917 the city had developed chlorination systems that allowed human settlements to coexist with municipal water supply needs in watershed areas, as they have in Big and Little Cottonwood Canyons.[81] But ever since the city began acquiring land in Mountain Dell to abate pollution sources and to build the reservoir, it has followed a policy of permanently retaining all acquired lands in city ownership. This policy ensured that the land would be limited to uses compatible with watershed protection. It also ensured that no human community would ever re-emerge at Mountain Dell.

On Parleys Creek above the reservoir, city officials built Washington Park in the 1930s and a golf course in the late 1950s. On Mountain Dell Creek above the reservoir, they initially turned the Armstrong farm into "a city farm for the production of feed for the city zoo, and shade trees for city streets and parks."[82] Later, in the 1930s, the city leased the Armstrong farmhouse and surrounding land to the Girl Scouts. The farmhouse, with its kitchen, living room, and two bedrooms, accommodated up to ten girls and three or four counselors.[83] The Girl Scouts continued using the property until 1978.

In 1971, the Armstrong farmhouse was added to the National Register of Historic Places. At that time, the nomination papers stated that "the building is still solid and in a remarkable

Armstrong Farmhouse 1975, by Richard Murray. The artist Richard Murray is the great-great grandson of Francis and Isabelle Armstrong. His family connection and the natural conditions that resulted from Salt Lake City's watershed policies drew him to Mountain Dell, where he painted many of his early works. (Courtesy Richard Murray)

state of preservation."[84] But it did not survive the next wave of water development.

In 1993, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers built the Little Dell Dam on Mountain Dell Creek, about a mile above the Mountain Dell Reservoir. The dam sits atop Camp Grant, where the Emigrant Road left Mountain Dell Creek to ascend Little Mountain. The original plan was for a much larger project. In addition to the dam on Mountain Dell Creek, engineers planned to dam Mill Creek (the next drainage south of Parleys Canyon) and divert the flow of that stream through a tunnel to Lambs Canyon, and then into an aqueduct that would carry the water over to Little Dell Reservoir. A similar dam, diversion, and tunnel was planned for Emigration Creek.[85] With the additional input from Mill and Emigration Creeks, the Little Dell Dam would have been much larger, flooding most of the valley, including the Armstrong farmhouse and the site of the Mountain Dell Station.[86]

Fortunately, common sense prevailed. The reports generated by Maxine Hanks, Allen Roberts, John Senulis, and the BYU Archaeology Department identified the historical, architectural, and archeological resources at the site, triggering federal mitigation requirements. Also, the federal government (which would build the dam) adopted a policy requiring local water agencies to pay half the cost of new water projects. As a result, the water agencies agreed to a smaller version of the project, without the Mill Creek and Emigration Creek diversions, and project documents stated that the historic structure would be preserved.[87]

Thus, it seemed the Armstrong farmhouse would be spared. For a time, it stood in a grove of trees on the northeast shore of the reservoir. But in 1999, without notice or publicity, Salt Lake City demolished the house, and buried or removed all historic remnants from the site, when it built a new recreation facility on the shore of Little Dell Reservoir. According to Maxine Hanks who worked to save the historic site and its buildings, "[t]he plan was to move the Armstrong stone house and its adjacent original Hanks stone root cellar to This Is The Place State Park. I provided the Park with complete history, architectural drawings, maps, and photos, while the City provided about ten thousand dollars. However, the Park did nothing, and discarded the historical files I provided."[88] Thus, today nothing remains of the Armstrong farmhouse and Mountain Dell Station. They are commemorated by a plaque created by Maxine Hanks and watershed park rangers, which is mounted above the reservoir in the recreation area parking lot, and by an obscure steel marker post, planted where the station once stood on the site.

One final irony—the re-establishment of Mountain Dell's place in the national transportation network—played out in the twentieth century. The first step in this direction was the Utah Central Railroad through Parleys Canyon. The next step came in 1913, when the Lincoln Highway, which included the Parleys Canyon Road, became the nation's first transcontinental automobile route. The Victory Highway soon replaced the Lincoln Highway—in the same location. Then the Victory Highway became US 40, which remained a transcontinental highway through Mountain Dell until Interstate 80 was completed in 1971.[89]

Meanwhile, the Emigrant Road over Big and Little Mountains was no longer a highway in any sense. In 1925, it appeared on a USGS map as a mere foot trail.[90] But in the 1930s the state highway department built State Road 65 from Emigration Canyon over Little and Big Mountains to East Canyon, with a short connector to US 40 (later Interstate 80) at Mountain Dell. This road does not follow the old trail exactly—heading east, it switchbacks away from the trail over Little Mountain, and it ascends Big Mountain in a big bend on the north side of the canyon, rather than heading straight up the gully as the old trail did. Going down into East Canyon it follows Little Dutch Hollow, one canyon to the north of the original route. (It is still possible to take a hiking trail that starts at the head of Little Dell Reservoir and retraces the old route through Mountain Dell, over Big Mountain and down Little Emigration Canyon to the junction with the East Canyon Road.)

With Mountain Dell again at the crossroads of a major national highway, it is easy to imagine the return of the hustle and bustle of the stagecoach and mail station era. But Salt Lake City's watershed policy would not allow that to happen. There are no hotels, truck stops, or other

commercial establishments associated with modern highway life.

Instead, a different type of rebirth has occurred. The land along Mountain Dell Creek, once tilled by Hanks, Hardy, and Armstrong, is now a large area of natural open space. The brushy conditions described by James Clyman in 1846 have returned. A tangle of chokecherry, hawthorn, dogwood, birch, and alder lines the stream corridor, providing excellent habitat for moose, deer, foxes, and grouse. Beavers, which Clyman and his associates trapped out even before the Donner Party arrived, have also returned. In 1995, biologists discovered a genetically pure strain of Bonneville Cutthroat Trout in Mountain Dell Creek. Bonneville Cutthroats descended from fish that once lived in ancient Lake Bonneville, their populations isolated in the mountain streams of the Bonneville Basin after Lake Bonneville dried up. During historic times, these fish were an important food source for the Ute Indians and the Mormon pioneers. Recently, Bonneville Cutthroats have been threatened by stream de-watering and competition from non-native fish, and were thought to be nearing extinction. But fisheries biologists have been using the pure strain found in Mountain Dell as a brood stock to restore populations throughout the Bonneville Basin.[91]

Mountain Dell's natural conditions produced a return of another sort, this one involving descendants of the original settlers. Richard Murray is the great-great grandson of Francis and Isabelle Armstrong. As a young artist in the 1970s, Murray was drawn to Mountain Dell not only by his family connections to the place, but by its natural beauty. His landscape paintings of Mountain Dell helped bring him early fame and success. Later, he became a renowned wildlife artist and animal portraitist, and his works are found in the permanent collections of the Springville Museum of Art and the National Museum of Wildlife Art. Murray lives along the Snake River in Oregon, on agricultural land that he converted to a wildlife sanctuary, much like his family's land in Mountain Dell. Some of his Mountain Dell paintings hang in his studio home, along with two of the Dan Weggeland paintings which were passed down to him through his family. Murray was instrumental in getting the Armstrong farmhouse listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1971. To this day, he treasures his memories of Mountain Dell.[92]

Likewise, Maxine Hanks was drawn to the site as a sacred place of inspiration and work. While researching the life of her great-great-grandfather Ephraim Hanks, she wanted to see the place her grandfather lived during his mail-carrying and Pony Express days (1851-61) and his rescue of the Martin Handcart company in 1856. In May 1986, she was amazed to find structures and features of the original Hanks ranch intact—especially the flowing springs which her grandfather chose for locating his camp in 1851, and the stone root cellar with roof built in 1857, attached to the intact Armstrong house built in 1878. This compelled Maxine to research the site history and uncover the facts about its location, features, and activities, which resulted in preservation efforts with the city and the 1989 report for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, as well as other materials and programs she wrote about the site. Mountain Dell also launched Maxine as a writer by fueling her love for researching Mormon history, which led to her first book in 1992, dealing with historic Mormon feminism, and subsequent books on Mormon history in 1998 and 2002, plus many articles since. Her encounters with Mountain Dell were transformative for her own life and work, and she still visits the site for peaceful retreat.[93]

Mountain Dell remains an unsung place. Its name does not even appear on the highway signs passing through it. But unsung places sometimes turn out to have remarkable stories. Mountain Dell, whose destiny was shaped by some of the major technological forces of the nineteenth century, has been the stage of many colorful and important events in Utah's history. To look at the place today, you would have no clue of any of this. In the words of the Neil Young song, "it's only a dream, just a memory without anywhere to stay."[94]

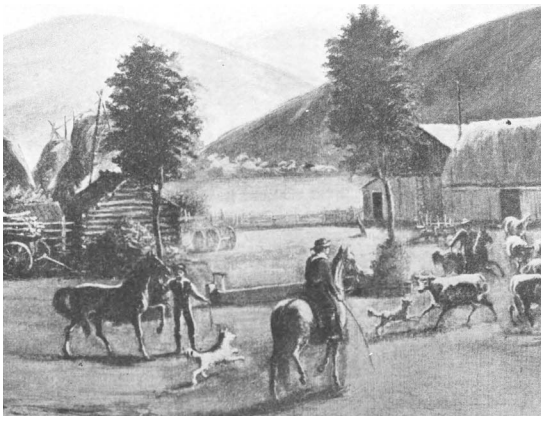
Author's Note

I am deeply indebted to Maxine Hanks for her work on the historic settlement of Mountain Dell. Since the 1980s, she has dug out the history of the early settlers of the area, including her great-great grandfather, Ephraim Hanks, and uncovered a wealth of details on the people of Mountain Dell and their pursuits. While her

work found its way into reports commissioned by the government in connection with the construction of the Little Dell Reservoir, Maxine has never received proper credit for her thorough and painstaking research. I hope this article will help rectify that situation is some small way.

—

Web Extra



Visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras for a conversation with Cullen Battle on the research and backstory of Mountain Dell's history.

—

Notes

1 *The American Heritage Dictionary*, 5th Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011).

2 Maxine Hanks deserves credit as the first person who researched, collected, interpreted, and wrote a history of the Mountain Dell area. See Allen D. Roberts, Maxine Hanks, and John Senulis, "Report of Historical, Architectural, Archaeological Aspects of Mountain Dell Station, Utah, May 1989," typescript, Little Dell Station File, State Historic Preservation Office, Utah Division of State History, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hanks was kind enough to share additional information with me in 2017, including two essays she wrote in 1997. In sketching the early history of Mountain Dell, I have relied extensively on her work.

3 James Clyman, "The Clyman Journal," in J. Roderick Korns, "West from Fort Bridger: The Pioneering of the Immigrant Trails across Utah 1846–1850," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 19 (1951): 39. Anyone who has hiked off-trail in the mountains around Mountain Dell can attest to the truth of Clyman's words.

4 For more information on the Donner Party's difficulties in Utah, see Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," 186–223.

5 Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), 165–67; William Clayton, *The Latter-Day Saints' Emigration Guide*, edited by Stanley B. Kimball (1848; repr., St. Louis: Patrice Press, 1983), 80; Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 10.

6 William Clayton, *William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1921), 305.

7 Clayton, *Emigration Guide*, 80; Clayton, *Journal*, 305; Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 10.

8 Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," 203.

9 This information originally appeared in Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," but was also used in Shane A. Baker and Lorna Beth Billat, *Historic Archaeology at the Armstrong Farm and Mountain Dell Pony Express Station*, Brigham Young University, Museum of Peoples and Cultures, Technical Series No. 94-6 (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, May 1994), 15, 18.

10 Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 164–66.

11 Louise Barry, ed., "Overland to the Goldfields of California: The Journal of John Hawkins Clark," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 11 (August 1942): 271.

12 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 10-11; Andrew Jensen, ed., *The Historical Record: A Monthly Periodical*, vols. 5–8, Church Encyclopedia, Book I (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen History Company, 1889), 298.

13 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 10–11.

14 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 10; Baker and Billat, *Armstrong Farm and Mountain Dell Pony Express Station*, 26.

15 LeRoy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849–1869* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1926), 58–62; Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1951), 12:55. For more on the mail route as it pertains to Mountain Dell, see Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 12; Baker and Billat, *Armstrong Farm and Mountain Dell Pony Express Station*, 18–20.

16 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 12.

17 Rebecca Bartholomew and Leonard J. Arrington, *Rescue of the 1856 Handcart Companies*, rev. ed. (1981; Provo, UT: BYU Press, 1993), 8–11; Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 12.

18 "Additional From Utah," *New York Herald*, April 15, 1858, 2; Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 12.

19 Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Repr., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 162–70; David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, *The Mormon Rebellion: America's First Civil War, 1857–1858* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 131–32, 136–37.

20 Solomon F. Kimball, "A King of Western Scouts," *Improvement Era* 19 (February–April 1915), 317; Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 13–14.

21 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 16; Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1971), 2:484.

22 Helen Taufer, "A Biography of Isabelle Siddoway Armstrong," 5, box 1, fd. 13, Francis Armstrong Family Papers, 1860–1890, Accn 1795, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

23 Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco, in the Summer of 1859* (New York: C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co., 1860), 205–6.

24 There is a lot of controversy over whether Greeley truly coined this phrase. Robert C. Williams, *Horace Greely: Champion of American Freedom* (New York: NYU Press, 2006), 40-43. But by the mid-1850s, the saying "Go West, young man" was widely associated with Greeley and his advocacy of westward expansion. According to Utah journalist and historian Hal Schindler, "if others used the phrase before Greeley, no one heard it. And when Greeley said it, the whole country listened, and thousands acted on it." Hal Schindler, "Horace Greeley Goes West, Meets Brigham Young Famed Journalist Makes Stop In Utah To Visit Mormons, 'See For Himself'," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 15, 1993, accessed December 5, 2017, historytogo.utah.gov/salt_lake_tribune/in_another_time/081593.html.

25 Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1862), 191–92. Maxine Hanks was the first historian to use the accounts of Richard Burton and Mark Twain (see note 28) to interpret Mountain Dell's history.

26 Ibid.

27 Asa R. Bowthorpe, "History of Pioneer Sawmills and Local Canyons of Salt Lake Valley," 1961, typescript, Pam 4339, Utah State Historical Society.

28 Mark Twain, *Roughing It*, Vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899), 110.

29 Ibid, 110–11.

30 Archibald Henderson, *Mark Twain* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1912), 99.

31 Greeley, *An Overland Journey*, 206.

32 Kimball, "A King of Western Scouts," 317; Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station,"14.

33 Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, 109–15.

34 Ibid, 196–214. The secession of the Southern states became another factor in favor of the central route.

35 Anthony Godfrey, *Historic Resource Study: Pony Express National Historic Trail* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1994), accessed November 28, 2017, nps.gov.

36 Kate B. Carter, *Riders of the Pony Express* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947), 35–36; Kimball, "A King of Western Scouts," 317. Additional details on the Mountain Dell Pony Express Station appear in Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 17–18.

37 *Deseret News*, June 29, 1850, 1.

38 Howard Stansbury, Journal, in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *Exploring the Great Salt Lake: The Stansbury Expedition of 1849–50* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 601.

39 Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," 236; Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 19.

40 "Progress of the Telegraph Line," *Deseret News*, September 11, 1861, 4.

41 "The Completion of the Telegraph," *Deseret News*, October 23, 1861, 5. Historians have questioned the sincerity of Young's profession of loyalty to the Union. See John Gary Maxwell, *The Civil War Years in Utah* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016).

42 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 19-20; Kimball, *A King Of Western Scouts*, 319–20.

43 David L. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998), 203.

44 "Governor Dawson's Statement," *Deseret News*, January 22, 1862, 2.

45 "Exciting and Terrifying Occurrences," *Deseret News*, January 22, 1862, 5.

46 Additional details on the Dawson affair appear in Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 18–19.

47 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 20. Hanks moved to Parleys Park and reputedly made one of the first silver discoveries there. Later, he built a ranch on Pleasant Creek in Wayne County (present-day Capitol Reef National Park), where he lived until his death in 1896. Sidney A. Hanks and Ephraim K. Hanks, Jr., *Scouting for the Mormons on the Great Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1948).

48 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 16.

49 Kate B. Carter, "Parley's Canyon," in *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947), 6:365; Jensen, *The Historical Record*, 298; W. Turrentine Jackson, "Salt Lake City: Wells Fargo's Transportation Depot during the Stagecoach Era," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Winter 1985): 27–28.

50 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 13, 16; Carter, "Parley's Canyon," 370; Bowthorpe, "History of Pioneer Sawmills"; "Correspondence," *Deseret News*, July 31, 1867, 6.

51 Korns, "West from Fort Bridger," 236.

52 Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, 289–93.

53 Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 223, 276; Don Strack, "The Golden Pass. A History of Transportation in Parleys Canyon, Utah," 6, last modified September 12, 2004, accessed November 28, 2017, utahrails.net.

54 Arthur K. Peters, *Seven Trails West* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996), 176–77.

55 "Correspondence," *Deseret News*, July 31, 1867, 6.

56 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 21–22; Baker and Billat, *Armstrong Farm and Mountain Dell Pony Express Station*, 30, 77.

57 Taufer, "A Biography of Isabelle Siddoway Armstrong," 5; Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 21–22.

58 Carol J. Armstrong, "Francis Armstrong: Pillar of Achievement in Zion," and Richard W. Madsen, III, "The Saga of a Latter-day Saint: Francis Armstrong, 1839–1899," box 1, fd. 5, Armstrong Papers; Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 22.

59 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 15, 22; Baker and Billat, *Armstrong Farm and Mountain Dell Pony Express Station*, 79–84.

60 Jensen, *The Historical Record*, 298.

61 Carter, "Parley's Canyon," 365, 367, 369–70; April 4, 1881, 2, August 21, 1882, 4, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, CR 100 137, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; Jensen, *Historical Record*, 298; Andrew Jensen, *Encyclopedia History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1941), 550–51; "School Money Divided," *Deseret Evening News*, January 11, 1902, 3. Also Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 6-7.

62 "Population of Utah by Counties and Minor Civil Divisions," *Deseret Evening News*, February 11, 1901, 6; Levi Edgar Young, "In Lovely Mountain Dell," *Deseret Evening News*, July 16, 1898, 9. See also Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 13–22.

63 The complete story of this railroad venture is found in Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's Coal Road in the Age of Unregulated Competition," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 35–63.

64 Strack, "The Golden Pass," 7–10; Carter, "Parleys Canyon," 369.

65 Information obtained in a personal conversation with Francis Armstrong Madsen, Jr. in March 2017. This story is also found on a plaque entitled "Memories at Mountain Dell," erected in September 2002 by the National Society of the Sons of Utah Pioneers at the Little Dell Recreation Area.

66 Fisher Sanford Harris, *100 Years of Water Development*, A Report Submitted to the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Water District of Salt Lake City, the Board of Commissioners of Salt Lake City Corporation, and to the Citizens of Salt Lake City, April 1942, 6–7; "Parley's Canyon Waters, *Salt Lake Tribune,* March 18, 1892, 5.

67 Ralph T. Richards, *Of Medicine, Hospitals, and Doctors* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1953), 140–43, 162–72.

68 Ibid, 174–80; Leroy W. Hooton, Jr., "Salt Lake City Watershed Management Programs: 1847–1997," typescript, 3, Salt Lake City Department of Public Utilities, accessed November 28, 2017, slcdocs.com/utilities/PDF%20Files/watersh.pdf.

69 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 7, 23; Baker and Billat, *Armstrong Farm and Mountain Dell Pony Express Station*, 33–34; Carter, "Parley's Canyon," 371.

70 Harris, *100 Years of Water Development*, 6.

71 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 23.

72 For example, see "Visit Parley's Canyon . . . Owners Ask High Prices for Their Farms," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 19, 1900, 8; "Brief Option Given on Canyon Lands," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 7, 1914, 16; "Young Threatens Injunction Action," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 12, 1915, 5.

73 "Typhoid Is Rampant," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 1, 1903, 11.

74 "Typhoid Born in Fork of Parley's Canyon," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 8, 1903, 1, 3.

75 "Parley's Creek Abominations," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 27, 1899, 3.

76 Compiled Laws of Utah, 1907, chap. 15 § 206; *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 8, 1903, 1. Currently, state law extends municipal jurisdiction to fifteen miles above the intake for all cities, and to the entire watershed for first class cities, such as Salt Lake City. Utah Code § 10-8-15.

77 "Told of Canyon Filth . . . Vested Rights Proposition," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 7, 1900, 3. Revised Ordinances of Salt Lake City, Utah, 1903, chapter 58 § 815, entitled "Befouling water," stated that "[i]t shall be unlawful for any person to construct or maintain any corral, sheep pen, pig pen, chicken coop, stable or other offensive yard or outhouse along any stream of water used by the inhabitants of Salt Lake City, anywhere within ten miles above the point where said stream is taken by said city, where the waste or drainage therefrom will naturally find its way into said stream of water; or to deposit, pile, unload or leave any manure, or other offensive rubbish, or the carcass of any dead animal along any stream of water used by the inhabitants of Salt Lake City."

78 See "For Polluting City Water," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 22, 1900, 3; "Parley's Creek Cases Decided," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 15, 1900, 5; "Befouling Parley's Creek," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 5, 1900, 3; "Befouling Parley's Creek," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 26, 1900, 8; "Case Against Roach," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 12 1903, 5; "Roach is Acquitted," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 13 1903, 3; "Found Guilty of Polluting Water," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 29, 1913, 2.

79 Salt Lake City v. Young, 45 Utah 349, 145 P. 1047 (1915).

80 Harris, *100 Years of Water Development*, 12.

81 Hooton, "Salt Lake City Watershed Management Programs," 4.

82 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 23.

83 Ibid; Baker and Billat, *Armstrong Farm and Mountain Dell Pony Express Station*, 34–37.

84 National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form, Little Dell Station, Entry No. 71.8.34.0024, August 12, 1971, State Historic Preservation Office, Utah Division of State History, Salt Lake City, Utah.

85 "Little Dell Dam and Reservoir Project," March 7, 2000, typescript, Salt Lake City Department of Public Utilities, accessed November 28, 2017, slcdocs.com/utilities/NewsEvents/news2000/news03142000.htm.

86 U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Sacramento District, *Draft Environmental Impact Statement: Little Dell Lake, Salt Lake City Streams, Utah*, March 1974, 60.

87 Roberts, Hanks, and Senulis, "Mountain Dell Station," 41–43; Baker and Billat, *Armstrong Farm and Mountain Dell Pony Express Station*, 253–55; Corps of Engineers, *DEIS*, 41. Even the original Little Dell plans called for the house to be moved to a new site above the floodwaters.

88 Information obtained in personal conversations with Maxine Hanks in December 2017.

89 Hal Schindler, "The Long and Winding Road/The Lincoln Highway: Utah Played a Key Role in Taming West for Cars," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 5, 1993, accessed November 28, 2017, history.utah.gov/uhg-slt-long-winding-road; Strack, "The Golden Pass," 12–14.

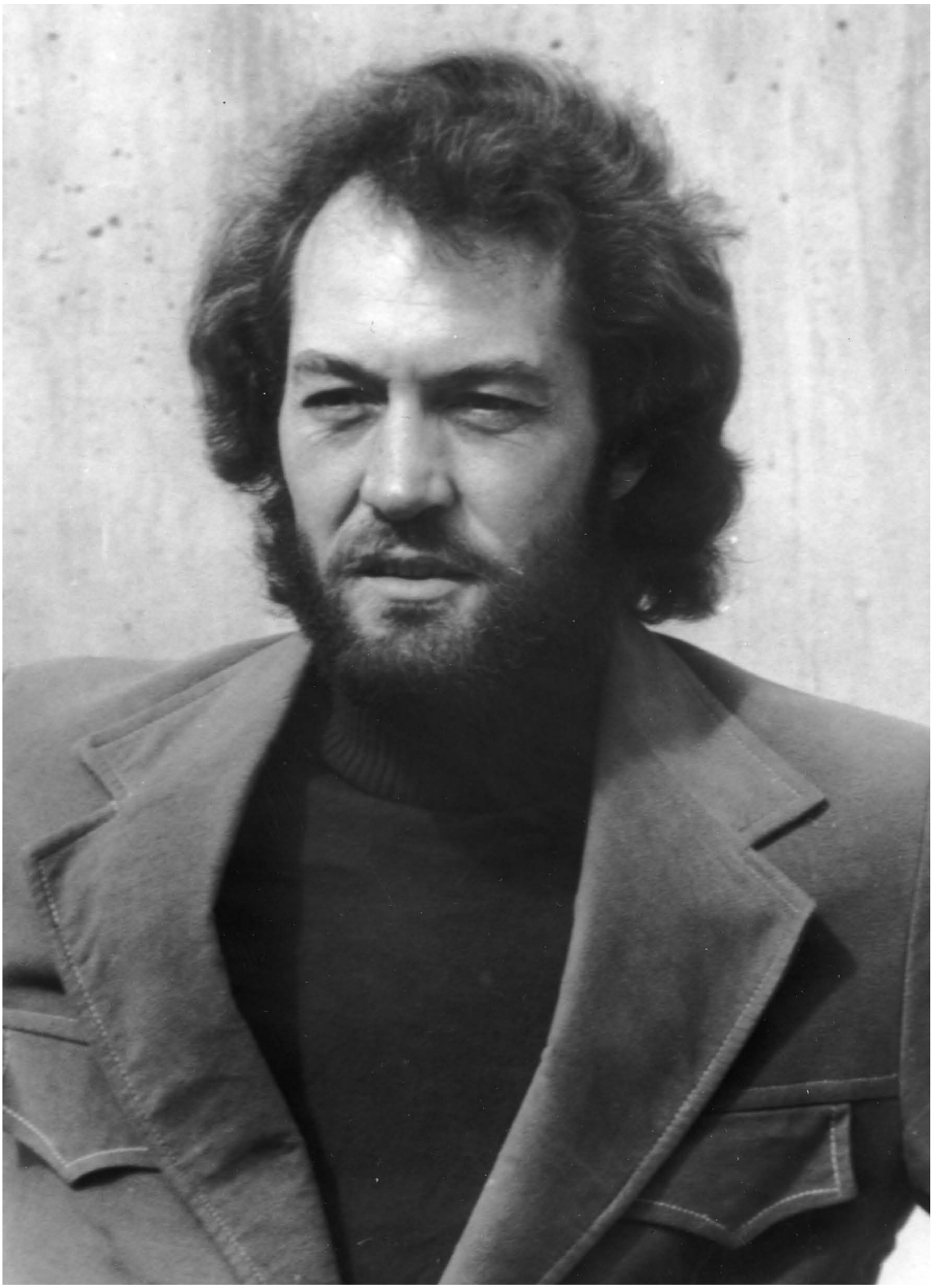
90 U.S. Geological Survey, *Ft. Douglas quadrangle, Utah* [map] (Reston, VA: United States Department of the Interior, USGS, 1925).

91 Michael T. Slater and Donald E. Wiley, "A Summary of Bonneville Cutthroat Trout Spawning Activities at Little Dell and Mountain Dell Reservoirs: 1995–2007," typescript, Publication Number 08-13, Utah Division of Wildlife Resources, Salt Lake City Utah, 2, 6; LeRoy W. Hooton Jr., "Watershed Reservoirs Aid in the Recovery of the Bonneville Cutthroat Trout," July 28, 2006, typescript, Salt Lake City Department of Public Utilities, accessed November 28, 2017, slcdocs.com/utilities/NewsEvents/news2006/news7272006.htm.

92 Information in this paragraph obtained in a personal conversation with Richard Murray in October 2017.

93 Information in this paragraph obtained in personal conversations with Maxine Hanks in December 2017.

94 Neil Young, "It's A Dream," *Prairie Wind*, Reprise Records, 2005.



Stephen Holbrook, 1973. After participating in the antiwar movement, he served three terms in the Utah Legislature and left that position to dedicate himself more fully to the formation of Utah's first Community radio station KRCL 90.9 FM. Holbrook continued working at the grassroots level to help improve education, homelessness, and other issues he was passionate about. *(All images are from the Stephen Holbrook Photograph Collection, 1946–2005, USHS)*

REEXAMINING THE RADICAL:

STEPHEN HOLBROOK AND THE UTAH STRATEGY FOR PROTESTING THE VIETNAM WAR

BY SCOTT THOMAS

In his influential weekly newspaper mailed directly to subscribers, the indefatigable newsman Isidor Feinstein Stone remarked in 1966 that the destruction of Vietnam "is the crime our country is committing. And this is what we must condemn, lest a later generation ask of us, as they ask of the Germans, who spoke up?"[1] The war would continue to rage for nearly a decade. Many would take up Stone's challenge to speak out—some peacefully, others angrily. To make sense of the madness the war had created at home and abroad, individuals and groups began to act. Disparate voices, peoples, and groups began to coalesce into a formidable antiwar machine. Tactics, methods, and approaches were as varied as the personalities within the movement. The lack of a central power structure did not stop the dissidents and radicals from forming, but it did provide levels of disorganization and chaos.[2]

The war in Vietnam was complicated, and the antiwar movement it created was, in many respects, just as complex. Government officials and supporters of the war leveraged the extremism of some individuals and groups to discredit the antiwar message and call into question the legitimacy of all those protesting the war.[3] The counter tactics were often designed to incite violence, thus further discrediting those opposing the war. This constant churning exacerbated the angst of many antiwar demonstrators and drowned out the substance of their message. Those supporting the war adroitly—albeit somewhat ironically—positioned themselves as the peaceful, more mature side and painted the antiwar

protesters as lovers of violence and disruption.[4] It truly was a time of "unadulterated discord."[5]

By 1966, a unique faction within the antiwar movement had begun to make strides in Utah—a western state known at the time for its staunch political and religious conservatism.[6] In the Republican-dominated state, demonstrators—also known as antiwarriors—used calculated tactics to protest United States involvement in Vietnam.[7] Their approach leveraged democratic methods to ensure the message reached not only sympathizers, but also, more importantly, the political and religious conservatives throughout the state. Organizers of the movement interacted with local police on a regular basis to keep them apprised of their activities; calls to news stations updated the media on upcoming sit-ins, marches, rallies, and other methods of dissent; fundraisers provided food, music, and even daycare. The atypical methods lacked shock and awe, but allowed for more balanced interactions with individuals and groups on the other side of the political divide. Protesters leveraged democratic institutions, themes, and methods for expressing their views. Events were strategically maneuvered to maintain a sense of formality and organization. Antiwarriors comingled their radical agenda with a level of coordination and respect for the existing institutions and social mores within the state. It was a deft approach for an inimitable locale and put the state on display, garnering national attention. This was no small achievement for the relatively small and overwhelmingly homogenous western state.

Analyzing the failures and successes of antiwar activism through the life of one of Utah's most prominent rabble-rousers provides a unique

Stephen Holbrook holding a glass of milk with Republican Sherman Lloyd of the U.S. House of Representatives and other election staff members. Holbrook worked closely with Congressman Lloyd on his election campaign in 1962. Congressman Lloyd served four terms in the U.S. House (1963–1965, 1967–1972) and is pictured here with members of his staff; from left to right, Jerome Full, Holbrook, Mary Lou Hughes, Lloyd Pullman, Sherman Lloyd, Stan Larson, Karen Thornley (?), and Deanna Rightrup. Holbrook ended up leaving the campaign to work with the NAACP in Utah.

picture into the methods of antiwar activism. Cultural and religious factors in Utah, combined with accepted political and social norms, created a multilayered environment for those wanting to rage against the political machinery of the day. Examination of the varying personalities in Utah and how they engaged one another during this divisive time affords some surprisingly pragmatic and conciliatory interactions within a movement known for its radical nature and actions.

At the center of Utah's antiwar scene was a young fifth-generation Mormon, Dell Stephen Holbrook. Surprising many within his family, Holbrook decided in 1964 to furlough his college education at the University of Utah and volunteer to register black voters in Mississippi. Driven by his experience witnessing crippling poverty and oppression as a young missionary for the LDS church in Hong Kong and San Francisco's Chinatown, Holbrook had a sincere desire to be a voice for the voiceless.[8] His religious upbringing in an established and privileged Mormon family well versed in the struggles that had beset their Mormon ancestors connected him to oppressed peoples. "I felt that I could understand the situation because I had a sense of my own people's history and because of that history I had a tie to other people who were being abused," he later reflected.[9] Only one of two known Utahans participating in the Freedom Summer Project, he joined one-thousand young white middle-class volunteers who entered Mississippi in the summer of 1964.[10]

Holbrook had played the role allotted him by the black civil rights workers, who believed that the only plausible means for bringing attention to Mississippi was to "draw middle-class kids from the north and people who had connections." Holbrook believed that "if something happened to them, someone would know about it, someone would do something about it. Whereas, leaving it strictly to the local blacks, no one was going to do anything about [it], no one would ever hear about it. It would be hushed up."[11] Being a young white male proved to be a major benefit when bing detained by local police. Whereas blacks were routinely harassed and imprisoned by law enforcement, the arrest of Holbrook brought national attention, especially from officials from Utah. Republican

Antiwarriors comingled their radical agenda with a level of coordination and respect for the existing institutions and social mores within the state.

Governor George Clyde requested the FBI get involved so that he could know "what had happened to one of Utah's citizens." This appeal was quickly followed by U.S. Senator Frank E. Moss, who wielded his congressional power to make sure young Holbrook's situation was remedied within a few days.[12]

Atrocities against volunteers and the black community in Mississippi fueled young Holbrook. During his time in the South, Holbrook worked out the office of Charles Evers, the brother of the Medgar Evers who had been murdered while working for the NAACP in Mississippi. Interestingly, it was during a demonstration in response to the murder of Medgar Evers in Washington D.C. that introduced the impressionable Holbrook to the power of activism. He ended up joining the demonstration and told himself, "I want to do this."[13] He soon became involved with the NAACP in Utah, and when he heard about the murder of three civil rights workers involved with the Freedom Summer campaign, he decided "I've got to go down there, this is not right."[14] Through a generous donation from Bob Freed, a local businessman, Holbrook was able to take his burgeoning talents to the South where he specialized as a spokesperson and organizer.[15]

The presence of a young, white, middle-class activist from Utah brought the events in Mississippi to the pages of Utah's newspapers. an example of thid comes from the treatment of volunteers and blacks in the hospitals in

Mississippi. When the state hospitals refused service to blacks and their sympathizers, the federal government was forced to open federal hospitals to take care of the wounded, sick, and infirmed. However, the graciousness was limited to providing basic room and amenities; if they wanted to attend to their people, African Americans were to bring in their own doctors. These imported physicians volunteered their time to assist, while lawyers were called upon to help prosecute "incidents of volunteers being tortured by physicians."[16] Moreover, white supremacy organizations in Mississippi reigned with little restraint. Americans for the Preservation of the White Race (APWR) staged massive armed demonstrations and successfully bullied blacks and their supporters without interference from law enforcement.[17] Utah newspapers reported Holbrook as somberly observing that the "federal government is reluctant to help and the local governments refuse to help" with the racist policies in the South.[18] Even the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, claimed that he could not offer assistance or protection to the volunteers because it would merely exacerbate an already volatile situation.[19]

After two trips to Mississippi to register black voters, resulting in multiple death threats, three arrests, and physical abuse by police officers, Holbrook returned to Salt Lake City "to fight those people flirting with bigotry, prejudice and racism in Utah."[20] Looking back at his involvement, Holbrook realized that the situation in Mississippi should have filled him with fear. While there, two civil rights workers were found dead, their bodies cut in half.[21] When asked about the danger, Holbrook replied, "I found myself very angry, I suppose in some ways, I should have been fearful. But I didn't feel fearful. I just felt angry."[22] At home in Utah, Holbrook realized the "radicalizing experience" had "opened up a big door for my

A 1963 protest march organized by Holbrook and the SLC chapter of the NAACP. This march was in lieu of a much more dramatic demonstration to coincide with one of the biannual General Conferences of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Word of the protest impelled a meeting between the two groups and Holbrook, along with NAACP President Albert Fritz and the first African American faculty member at the University of Utah Charles Nabors, met with Presidents Hugh B. Brown and N. Eldon Tanner of the First Presidency of the LDS church. After a lengthy discussion the two groups agreed a statement would be made and the demonstration in front of the conference would be called off. Organizers opted to hold a march in downtown SLC.

inquiring mind about a lot of other things."[23] He chose to bring awareness to the citizens within his home state of Utah by joining the Utah chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to advocate for the civil rights of all peoples in Utah. This crusade soon brought him into conflict with his cultural faith.[24]

As a member of the NAACP, Holbrook joined a committee that drafted letters and editorials and communicated with local clergy and leaders on the civil rights issues facing Utah's black population. After several resolutions, petitions, and demonstrations, the NAACP called upon "South America, Asia, and Africa to refuse to grant visas to the missionaries and representatives" of the LDS church.[25] The strategy was aimed at getting the "LDS Church to be more sensitive to civil rights" by putting their missionary efforts in limbo.[26] The intent was to impel the most prominent institution within the state to be more involved in the quest to improve housing, jobs, public accommodations, and equal treatment of blacks, but his attempts did not result in any tectonic shifts in policy.[27] Rather than spend time criticizing the church and its leadership, Holbrook shifted tactics by opting to take his message of discrimination directly to the people of Utah.

The young activist understood the difficult quest he had decided to embark on and was not easily discouraged by the many Utahans who disagreed with him and his tactics. In a letter to the editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, a citizen denounced Holbrook's actions as the petty misgivings of a duped youngster who had been "misled into believing that he is fighting racism, bigotry and prejudice by breaking laws."[28] Disapproval of his activism fell on Holbrook's deaf ears. He had faced life-threatening violence in Jackson, Mississippi, where most volunteers came to terms with the reality that "there was a very good chance of dying."[29] Further, he welcomed and honored those who decided to exercise their democratic right to voice their opinions publicly—whether for or against him. He saw little success in exchanging insults or being deterred from his message. Although he was willing to break some laws, he was strategic and mindful of stepping across that line. Understanding that extreme measures such as violence, intimidation and force "scared a lot of people," Holbrook focused on building bridges "between groups and between levels of society." He decided to "assume that everyone has integrity and dignity and that sometimes you have to help pull it out of people a little bit—you have to have the people be their best."[30]

Holbrook sought out meaningful venues to raise awareness and spark debate. Prior to returning to Mississippi in the summer of 1965, he put together a "Jazz-a-Nanny" concert to raise money for blacks fired from their jobs. These people had chosen peaceful protest by enrolling their children in all-white schools in the South. Utahans came out to support the cause and Holbrook raised $436. Everything from the event promotion to the concert hall was donated by local citizens and businesses. Polly and the Valley Boys, the Salt Lake Bluegrass Boys, and many other groups combined for a night of music, protest, community, education, and entertainment.[31]

Commenting on the relationship between civil rights and opposition to the Vietnam War, Holbrook asserted that most of the subsequent "social struggles" experienced in Utah and across the United States derived from the civil rights movement—including the antiwar movement. Civil rights, according to Holbrook,

> created what were really the seeds for a lot of other movements. The environmental movement, the radicalization of young white America. The antipoverty movement, I think, to a large extent, came out of the Civil Rights Movement. The women's movement, the gay liberation movement. I think virtually every major social desire for change and for people speaking up for their own rights, came out of that.[32]

Upon his return from Mississippi in 1965, Holbrook dove headfirst into anti-Vietnam War protests.[33] His leadership would draw many to the cause and increase Utah's involvement in the antiwar movement—locally and nationally.

Civil and human rights were inseparable for Holbrook, who viewed the Vietnam War as a critical way to shine light on American attitudes. The war provided a global stage for addressing the "two very complex problems"

of civil and human rights. The "hypocrisy" of the United States lay in its commitment to free a foreign people while a large contingent of American citizens remained oppressed due to the color of their skin. Holbrook argued that the U.S. government's treatment of Vietnamese and black Americans was worse than "good old fashioned homicide," tantamount to "political murder and intimidation."[34]

Holbrook's participation in a protest walk through downtown Salt Lake City with twenty-five other pacifists led by the seventy-one-year-old Ammon Hennacy may have "attracted little attention and created no incidents," but antiwarriors soon garnered recognition in and outside the state. Marching with mostly high school and university students, Holbrook carried a sign that read, "Support the Right to Vote in Alabama, in Viet Nam."[35] The protest was peaceful and assured onlookers there were many dissenting voices in the state. As the first official antiwar protest march recorded in Utah, it left an indelible mark on the young Holbrook, who was becoming one of the most recognized and adept antiwarriors in the state.

Within the year, antiwar protests surged within the red state of Utah. One local activist boasted that the "word from the major centers of peace activism is that Salt Lake ranks with Chicago, Madison, and Los Angeles in the scope of it's [*sic*] activists and is probably better organized than most places receiving major press coverage." With its operational bases for the United Front to End the War (UFEW), the Salt Lake City Draft Resistance (SLCDR), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, the Rocky Mountain Peace Action Coalition (RM-PAC), and other pacifist organizations, Utah laid claim to a large swath of local and nationally recognized avant-garde organizations. Holbrook and others had maneuvered Utah into the larger picture of the antiwar movement. Still, some participants felt that Utah was not having the impact it should. The editorial groaned that if Salt Lake City was better organized than other locales, "then the movement elsewhere must be in bloody shambles."[36]

Holbrook did his best to organize and collaborate between the numerous protest groups

The Anti-War Movement drew from all different social, economic and racial classes. The diversity of the movement gave it great strength and appeal while simultaneously causing major divisions due to its lack of a central structure. Pictured here are three unidentified demonstrators talking with another unidentified individual during a protest march in Salt Lake City, Utah.

A young Stephen Holbrook taking questions from the press after the 1963 march during the General Conference of the LDS church. As previously agreed, the Civil Rights march did not picket outside Temple Square where conference was being held; rather, it marched through downtown and ended near the conference.

within the state. He had the clout and was becoming a common participant, if not unofficial leader of Utah's growing antiwarriors. Upon invitation, Holbrook took the stage at a local rally to educate Utahans on the inaccuracies being reported on the war and the need for the United States to pull out immediately. He pushed for local government to allow more opportunities for differing views and opinions to be shared publicly and more frequently. Progress was sluggish, according to Holbrook and his colleagues; their message was not being broadcasted broadly enough. They needed to reach more people—a rally here and there was not cutting it.[37] His remarks at the event seemed to mark a turning point for antiwarriors in Utah—attention began to shift towards casting a wider net through bridge building and networking.

An experience in his early activist days had educated the young Holbrook on the power of maintaining relationships, especially with those he disagreed with.[38] While the civil rights movement scrutinized the LDS church's priesthood ban, Holbrook took advantage of his Mormon roots to organize a meeting on behalf of the local chapter of the NAACP, for which Holbrook worked.[39] He and some colleagues met with two church leaders—Hugh B. Brown and Nathan Eldon Tanner, counselors in the high-ranking First Presidency—to figure out a resolution to the proposed picket by the NAACP at the upcoming General Conference of the church. Brown and Tanner agreed to draft a statement that would be presented at conference. The statement was read during the Sunday general session by President Brown. In return, Holbrook and his group agreed not to hold an official picket outside the conference, though they did march a group of about five hundred people from the Federal Building in downtown Salt Lake City to the conference to urge the church officials to support the civil rights movement.[40]

During all of this, Holbrook realized the advantage of working with, not against, those who held differing views and of playing a "bridge role between groups and between

Protesters gathered for a day or protest and moratorium against the Vietnam War. Thousands of students and demonstrators met at the University of Utah where speeches were made. A massive procession then marched to the Federal Building in downtown Salt Lake City. The antiwar event was a huge success and stands as one of the largest antiwar gatherings in Utah history.

levels of society."[41] Similarly, it was, according to Holbrook, this incident that propelled him to utilize the media in a more methodical way. Rather than count on the media to show up and film a march, demonstration, or other event, Holbrook realized the influence he could gain by apprising them of upcoming activities. Much like his approach with the Salt Lake City Police Department, he treated the media as a tool he could work with to achieve his goals of spreading the antiwar message in a positive and easily consumable manner. He recognized the need to "sell our story to the broad public" to "draw new people to what we were doing."[42] The media too often, according to Holbrook, focused on the "sizzle and not the bacon." Involving them prior to events would, he hoped, help them focus on the core issues and message, and not merely the sensational, dramatic, or controversial.[43]

By October 1967, Utah activists had decided to take their message to a more aggressive, strategic level. If nobody was going to give them a platform to speak from, they would take one. The plan was to stage a sit-in and force media outlets within the state to broadcast their actions. On Friday, October 20, Holbrook and seven others staged a peaceful protest at the Armed Forces and Examination Center entrance located at 438 South Main Street in Salt Lake City. The location allotted them the ability to engage with employees trying to enter the workplace, but more importantly, it provided them a rostrum for bringing their message to many who passed the building on their way to work. Attracting the attention of more than two hundred onlookers, the eight protestors maintained the protest for forty-five minutes before they were arrested and dragged from the building. The episode was an overwhelming success. Not only did they get their message out, the incident encouraged others to get involved. A few hours later, students at the University of Utah began a protest on campus that ended with a draft-card burning ceremony.[44] Activist leaders in Utah were intent on not allowing their demonstrations to devolve into violent trage-

dies—an unfortunate trend among antiwarriors elsewhere. The University of Utah proved to be a major location in the establishment politics of the protest movement in Utah.[45]

Holbrook and his associates felt that any acts that could be construed as violent in nature—like those staged at the Armed Forces and Examination Center—just "scared a lot of people" and did not help spread their message. Utah's antiwarriors went to great lengths to work with the local police—especially the Salt Lake City Police Intelligence Division. Holbrook and others would apprise the division of upcoming marches and even detail the expected number of protestors.[46] Leaders were put in place among the protestors and identified themselves with black arm bands. The intent was to reduce the chances of "agent provocateurs who were playing a double role" by inciting unwanted violence. These agents aimed to bring negative coverage to the movement and paint the antiwarriors as a band of unorganized thugs. The civility was a unique tribute to law enforcement and protestors in the Beehive State. Holbrook praised the Salt Lake City Police for their professionalism and later stated that they "were actually quite good in protecting us."[47]

In line with the spirit of democratic activism, the University of Utah invited the editor of the left-leaning *Ramparts* magazine, Robert Scheer, and past president of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Carl Oglesby, to debate Senator Wallace F. Bennett (a Utah Republican) and Senator Gale McGee (a Wyoming Republican). The activist leaders and senators held a peaceful but heated and lively debate.[48] The forum put two very opposing views on display for attendees to consider. As one historian has noted, the debate was clearly won by those against the war, and the gathering "proved to be a turning point for many Utahans who began questioning the presence of the United States in Vietnam."[49]

Brigham Young University took a more controlled approach to disparate views about the Vietnam War. Quite the opposite of their northern rival, BYU sponsored, organized, and held a pro-war rally on campus.[50] Not all administrators and students approved or participated in the university's pro-Vietnam stance.[51] A few student groups spoke out in opposition to the war. Members of the Young Democrats for Peace Committee (YDPC) took part in the Utah Moratorium activities held on November 15, 1969, that corresponded with rallies taking place around the globe. YDPC chairman Jerry Owen spoke at the festival and helped coordinate the collection cards from participants to send "in bulk to President Nixon." Other YDPC members canvassed the residential and downtown sections of Provo while handing out anti-Vietnam War literature and propaganda. After pamphleteering, they loaded into more than twenty cars and caravanned to the State Fairgrounds Coliseum that evening to join with more than three thousand others for the festivities of the Utah Moratorium. The BYU constituency proudly sported tags identifying themselves as "BYU Pacifists."[52]

The evening consisted of music, poetry, and speeches against the war. Antiwar leaders Jeff Fox and Robert Scheer shared the stage with entertainer and comedian Allen Sherman. The night passed without any significant arrests, disturbances, or violence. The interaction was mutually beneficial and demonstrated a high level of respect and decorum among the protesters and law enforcement. During this particular event, Holbrook donned one of the trademark black arm bands to identify himself to police as an antiwar leader.[53]

The most raucous display came when a professor from the University of Utah challenged Sheer on his denunciation of the war and blamed "public opinion" for the debacle in Vietnam. The two went back and forth for some time but remained civil in their exchange. Activists supporting the moratorium outside the United States did not fare as well as those in Utah. Eight hundred campaigners were arrested in Paris, France, vandals damaged state-owned property in Stuggart, Germany, and riots in neighboring Frankfurt led to the injury of three protesters.[54]

Organization of the moratorium inside the state rested primarily on the Utah branch of the United Front to End the War (UFEW).[55] As the premier antiwar organization in the state, UFEW strategically utilized mass media to publicize and market the event. UFEW chairman Jeff Fox announced to the media that the protests would be civil: "We will not be forced off the scene by people predicting violence, as

we plan no violence." Fox argued that the antiwarriors refused to be "silenced by those who don't think the people have a right to free expression by assembly for the redress of grievances." The gathering, according to Fox, was to allow for the antiwar message to be articulated, defended, and properly delivered to the masses: "The people (ourselves included) have listened to President Nixon. We now ask him—and all Americans—to listen to us."[56]

UFEW effectively leveraged local media by purchasing radio spots, publishing pamphlets, and producing fliers and posters. The group also organized speeches of prominent antiwar activists. Notably, Phil Watson, a pioneer for black programming on television and a prominent leader within the black community with a deep and respected resume, agreed to speak at BYU in 1969.[57] According to the campus newspaper, "many students and professors" at the university supported Watson's antiwar views. His speech was well attended. Faculty, students, and local residents crowded in to hear his antiwar logic and opinion. Following the speech, the well-respected history professor Richard Poll challenged Watson on some of his remarks. After a brief exchange, Watson chided the professor for defending the "whitewash job" presented by President Nixon.[58]

The federal police were "always courteous" in their interactions with the antiwar leadership in Utah, but Holbrook was confident that they had no intention to protect them—just gather information.

This rare—if not the only—instance of a university-sponsored invitation to an antiwar activist to address the student body on the BYU campus during the Vietnam Era is a testament to UFEW's influence and networking capabilities. How this transpired with Ernest L. Wilkinson at the helm is seemingly inexplicable.[59] He viewed protest as un-American. When riots erupted at campuses in the United States, BYU remained, in Wilkinson's view, a "patriotic bastion and exemplar in student behavior to many conscientious observers across the country."[60] With the support of the student body, Wilkinson had been able to "flatly" refuse the demands by the SDS to demonstrate on the BYU campus.[61] Calling the Vietnam War "moral and just," Wilkinson vehemently condemned student demonstrators nationwide as uneducated and unqualified "for graduation from an American University." He even called for draft resisters and other "dissenters" to be granted visas and shipped to North Vietnam.[62] During a commencement address on May 29, 1969, for example, Wilkinson decried any divergence from the prescribed conformity and threatened to punish dissidents harshly.[63]

By 1970, the antiwar movement was beginning to garner further public attention in Utah with organized remonstrations against the war. The uptick did not go unnoticed by federal and state officials. With local police teaming up with FBI and other intelligence gathering agencies, a disturbing trend took hold in the United States where this interagency alliance tracked individuals involved in antiwar gatherings.[64] From this emerged "red squads"—unrestrained policing units that utilized violent tactics to subdue protestors—with the sole intent of crushing disparate voices through aggressive means.[65] Fortunately for the antiwarriors in Utah, red squads were not a common presence and did not hinder the organizing power of protest movements within the state. The FBI was active in trying to suppress activities inside Utah, but they were not, according to Holbrook, very adept at blending in. The agents were "pretty obvious" as they all wore a type of unofficial "uniform" with a "certain kind of suit and certain kind of shoes." The federal police were "always courteous" in their interactions with the antiwar leadership in Utah, but Holbrook was confident that they had no intention to protect them—just gather information.[66]

Lieutenant Harry Patrick is seen here wearing dark sunglasses and giving the thumbs up (or motioning to someone) during an antiwar rally in SLC. Lt. Patrick was part of the SLC Police Intelligence unit and he coordinated closely with Holbrook to ensure that violence and police brutality did not become a staple of the antiwar scene in Utah.

Unlike Chicago and Philadelphia, Utah local police respected the constitutional rights to free speech and public demonstration. One well-known activist commended the Police Chief Dewey Fillis and Captain Harry Patrick for their composed manner in dealing with antiwar activists and demonstrations.[67] Another citizen wrote to Utah's branch of the ACLU to commend the law enforcement agencies in Salt Lake City for maintaining the democratic rights of antiwarriors. The police, according to the letter, "were more of a protection, in my experience, than a surveillance or harrassment [*sic*]" to local activists. She admired the "administration" for being "level-headed" and not encouraging the officers to be antagonistic, reactionary, or violent.[68] According to Captain Patrick, the governing principle of the police force was "to protect the free exercise of human and constitutional rights and to prevent violations of the law." Officers were to "act, rather than react." Fortuitously for its citizens, especially the so-called subversive ones, Utah did not follow the national trend of violent obstruction—regardless of how much officials disagreed with protestors' ideas and tactics.[69]

As the movement blossomed, so did its agenda. Advocates for various causes sought to hitch their wagons to the well-recognized and high functioning antiwar coalition.[70] While serving as the chairmen of two environmental activism groups, Holbrook and Scheer joined UFEW chairman Douglas L. Epperson in organizing a large rally at Sugarhouse Park. Due to a recent request by the Salt Lake City mayor, all protest gatherings were to be held at parks, not in the streets and other public locales. However, just two days before the scheduled rally, the city commission denied the organizers access to amplification equipment and told them to take the rally to Liberty Park rather than Sugarhouse Park. Members of the commission did not hide their disgust for the antiwarriors. One member, an Air National Guardsman, remarked that he would "like to take all of them to Vietnam with me on my next trip and show them what it's all about."[71]

Unwilling to back down quietly, Epperson, Fox, and Holbrook took their complaint to court. The suit was against Sugar House Park Authority for refusing to allow a "public gathering or meeting in the nature of a 'moratorium' in Salt Lake City, Utah on April 18 [1970], at approximately 1:00 o'clock p.m." The moratorium objective was three-fold: protest American involvement in the Vietnam War, oppose government and private industries responsible for environmental ruin, and petition the government for redress and exhort those attending to do likewise. While the proper authorities had granted use of the park grounds, they denied a sound system permit at an event organizers expected more than six thousand people to attend.[72] The antiwarriors compiled a litany of evidence, including information showing collusion by officials to coordinate the revocation of a sound system just days before the festivities. The authorities discounted the tenacity and quick legal prosecution by the protestors. Realizing the quagmire they had walked into, they acquiesced but succeeded in setting strict rules of compliance regarding sound and restrictions on dancing. Despite these rules, redress through the court system had proven successful, and organizers carried out the event without any reported incidents of violence, intimidation, nuisance, or dancing.[73]

Intent on giving a voice to the unrepresented, Holbrook and his associates pushed the UFEW to widen its concern for progressive causes beyond the needs of those at the war-torn edges of the world. Whether it was to assist the homeless, improve the environment, or end the bombing in Vietnam, the antiwar movement coalesced into a platform for activists to promote a new humane agenda for the United States as a whole. Just a month after the Sugarhouse lawsuit, the University of Utah SDS chapter joined with Voices Against Needless Destruction of Air Land and Sea (VANDALS) and UFEW to organize and stage a sit-in. More than one hundred participants took over the Park Building on the University of Utah campus. The combined demonstrators brought attention to their cause and earned themselves another court appearance.[74]

Holbrook worked tirelessly to educate followers on the benefits of substance over spectacle.

Disciplined peace during animated rallies was not easily achieved. In May alone, University of Utah campus police responded to numerous remonstrations, the raiding of the university newspaper headquarters, antiwar demonstrators tossing a firebomb into the university's ROTC building, and an arsonist burning down a building on campus.[75] The various protest groups—VANDALS, SDS, UFEW—denied any involvement in the burning of the building and formed a United Strike Alliance to double down on their pacifist stance and to clear retribution of the use of violence by any group, including comrades in arms. Albeit aggressive and costly, neither incident resulted in harm to anyone.[76] The event hampered recruitment of sympathizers and reduced the antiwar movement on the campus—"it scared some people," Holbrook later recalled—but did not escalate further or involve federal law enforcement.[77] This was due, in large part, to the congenial relationship between the antiwarriors and many administrators and faculty. Dean of Students Virginia Frobes engaged the university president James D. Fletcher and convinced him to "declare the building of no value," which he did. This quick action de-escalated a potentially serious situation for Utah's antiwarriors and reinforced Holbrook's desire to focus on building bridges, not throwing bombs.[78]

A visit of Vice President Spiro Agnew provided Utah's activists several opportunities to get their message out locally and nationally. Prior to Agnew's arrival, activists arrived early at Main Street near North Temple to fill the front rows and ensure their ability to drown out any pro-war supporters. Crowding the front, the demonstrators booed, hissed, shouted obscenities, and made vulgar gestures throughout the entirety of Agnew's speech.[79] After the speech, the vice president hosted a fundraising dinner billed at $100 per plate. Holbrook organized an alternative dinner of his own to coincide with

Supporters at the "We the People" demonstration in September 1972. The event was in protest of the re-election campaign visit to Utah by Vice President Spiro Agnew. President Richard Nixon and Agnew were running for their second term and holding a $100 a plate fundraising dinner in Salt Lake City. Holbrook's "We the People" counter-dinner cost a mere $.50 a plate and provided dinner, music, dancing, speeches and a child care for parents to be fully engaged.

Agnew's. Eight hundred participants paid a pricey $100 cover to share the room with Agnew at the lavish, upscale dinner. Holbrook's $.50 per plate dinner, with its music, dancing, games, and nursery for young children, attracted nearly double that attendance.[80]

Marketing the event as a gathering of "We the People," the venue sought an alliance between blue-collar workers and young activists' intent on exploring more amenable and community building modes of protest. Made up of members from UFEW, New Mobe, and other avant-garde organizations, the meeting, according to Holbrook, aimed to "revolutionize the system" by forming a majority "working within the system," not relying on outsiders. Harnessing the democratic power inside the political structures had proved effective, and Holbrook was intent on getting more advocates to join the struggle by leveraging the democratic tools from the inside. By year's end, peaceful groups were organizing all along the Wasatch Front to educate Utahns on everything from keeping their communities clean of litter to mobilizing efforts against atrocities overseas. Aside from the low cost dinners, "We the People" raised funds through "soup lines and shoeshine stands." Their novel approach to wartime protest drew the attention of the *Washington Post*.[81]

Holbrook worked tirelessly to educate followers on the benefits of substance over spectacle. His teachings also carried the message of unity among the various voices of protest—to him, the struggle for one was the struggle of all. Whether one was advocating human, civil, or environmental causes did not matter. All were striving for a better life. As one activist from Provo explained,

> transforming America from a society based on violence and force to one governed by nonviolence and respect for the individual (all individuals) means more than opposition to the U.S. in

> Vietnam. It means working against the use of force in every part of American life. It means fighting oppression of women, violence against our environment, war-toys, violence in the media oppression of each other and so on. Vietnam is no freak choice. It is a logical expression of violence which pervades all of our institutions and much of our materialistic morality.[82]

The engagement in Vietnam had coalesced divergent groups and rallied them towards a greater cause for good.

As 1970 came to a close, the antiwar movement saw mobilization in remote corners of the state that previously had little to no experience with activism. Logan, located in northern Utah's Cache Valley, gave birth to the Rocky Mountain Peace Action Coalition (RM-PAC). The group organized with the intent of "reaching out to new layers of the population."[83] Ester Daniels, a member of the Student Mobilization Committee at Utah State University, also in Logan, proposed forming an umbrella organization of activist groups called the Wasatch Peace Action Coalition (WPAC).[84] That spring, UFEW and other Salt Lake City-based antiwar groups gathered thousands to march in antiwar protests. May 15 saw two to eight thousand marchers along the nearly two-mile route from the State Capitol Building to Pioneer Park. People of all ages, races, and classes amassed in a line of protest stretching over a half a mile long. Eleven guest speakers addressed the crowd—some traveling from as far as California to participate.[85] Robert Sheer called on those in the audience to partner with "all people in the world who want to control their own destinies" by standing for equality and sensibility. Attendees sprang to their feet in ovation.[86]

As the Vietnam offensive shifted to a renewed bombing agenda in spring 1972, it appears that the UFEW joined United Front to End the Bombing (UFEB), a local antiwar coalition of which Holbrook functioned as the public relations coordinator and chair.[87] The UFEB organized a massive protest on April 23, 1972, that included a black wreath, black armbands, and the hoisting of the flag at the government building to half-mast and upside down—a signal of dire distress.[88] The protest attracted people from diverse organizations, including representatives from Veterans Against the War, Poor People's Organization, Wasatch Coalition for Peace and Justice, Women Liberationists, as well as labor groups, civil rights groups, and countless others. Approximately three thousand people participated in the peaceful antiwar chants and speeches giving attention to the human and ecological costs of renewed U.S. bombing.[89]

One speaker at the rally planted the seeds of a radical concept for a "No Vote Administration," or NOVA. The idea called "for a total boycott of all electoral processes used by the present system." Sponsored by the Utah Veterans Against the War, NOVA sought to "liberate this city, this state, and finally . . . this country" by running a "full slate of candidates for all elective offices, and to urge all people not to vote." The rationale, though a stretch under any circumstance, sought to count all the non-votes and allocate them to tallies in favor of the NOVA candidates.[90] The NOVA alternative viewed the nation, government, and system as "morally bankrupt" and in "constant repudiation of humane values."[91]

Through all these protests, Holbrook was a respected networker, coordinator, and leader within the movement. He was invited to the American Committee to Organize an Anti-War Congress to be held in Canada, but timing, bureaucratic red tape, and other factors impelled leaders to postpone the gathering.[92] Also in 1972, leaders of the Emergency Nationwide Moratorium contacted Holbrook to coordinate an event in Utah on May 4, 1972, that would call on Americans "appalled and angered by our government's behavior in Indochina" to make their day's mantra: "no business as usual."[93] He also put his body on the line, as when he had staged a mass sit-in at the Tribune building in Salt Lake City and was arrested in the process.[94]

Holbrook depended heavily on local administrators, officials, and law enforcement to achieve antiwar goals. This did not stop him from disagreeing with those on the other side of the aisle, but it did temper his interactions and approach. He praised the University of Utah president James Fletcher and the vice president Virginia Frobes for their protection

Stephen Holbrook protesting the war in Vietnam by prostrating in front of a Volkswagon. Writing years later, former Democratic State Senator Frances Farley praised Holbrook for the "effectiveness" of his "sit-ins" and told him one of the reasons she loved him was his willingness to put his "body on the line." Further, she did not "trust anyone" who was "unwilling to physically stand (or sit) in opposition to injustice (or lie down)—I just remembered the picture with the Volkswagen. (Holbrook Collection, bx 2, fd 18)

of students' "right to express unpopular ideas." Holbrook understood that his dealings caused them both "a great deal of heartburn," but he was grateful that they helped foster "a place that was safe" for dissenting views.[95] Sometimes things did get out of control, as was the case on May 9, 1972. This marked the day after President Nixon spoke to the American public. As a response, Holbrook and the UEFB organized some three hundred demonstrators with red arm bands to block federal employees from going to work. The protesters burned Nixon in effigy atop a Federal Building flagpole. When the protestors began blocking traffic, police in riot gear armed with pepper spray and K-9 units dispersed the crowd.[96]

The next day UFEB, under Holbrook's advisement, held a meeting at the University of Utah campus "requesting" television spots to respond to President Nixon's speech.[97] Holbrook argued that alternate voices deserved a platform—simple "short cuts" such as the right to assemblage and speech were not enough—to

bring their message to more than just those able to attend. The meeting was a success, and upon its dispersion a large group took their united chanting on display as they marched down Social Hall Avenue—located in the northeast corner of downtown Salt Lake City. Protestors arrived at the east end of the street where Holbrook took charge and arranged for the group to pick three speakers, along with Holbrook, to represent the protesters on television.[98]

Participants did not go unnoticed, and some were interviewed during a half-hour of coverage on KUTV Channel 2 News. KSL News was most generous, giving the antiwar spokespersons several hours of coverage that night. At KCPX they were able to acquire time on a public discussion program Saturday evening. This program allotted the antiwarriors an opportunity to narrate their side for 15 to 20 minutes and then field calls from listeners. Holbrook was so impressed with the time allotted the UFEW and its cosponsors from KSL and KBYU that he decided to write a letter to Gordon B. Hinckley. Holbrook expressed his gratitude and thanked the church apostle for the "most generous amount of time on both of the church owned stations and found the management most cordial, especially at KSL."[99]

Imbued with the recent strides in the antiwar effort, UFEW ran an ad in the *Salt Lake Tribune* that called upon the U.S. Congress to end the Vietnam War. "We demand that President Nixon keep his pre-election promise and sign the peace agreement which Henry Kissinger announced on October 26th." With Congress meeting on January 3, 1973, the ad came with two cut-out slips at the bottom that were addressed to President Nixon and local members of Congress demanding "that you sign and implement the peace agreement which you made public last October 26th." The ticket for congressional representatives was less emphatic in its language: "We urge that you act now to cut off all appropriations for the war in Indochina." Both slips had five spaces for five different signatures to sign and show support for the message.[100] In tandem with the voucher program and marketing, UFEW scheduled an Anti-Coronation Ball at the Utah State rotunda to raise funds for the Bac Mai Hospital in Vietnam nursing civilians injured from U.S. bombing. However, much like the Sugarhouse Park incident, last minute court orders imposed restrictions that required organizers to remove any and all antiwar messaging.[101]

The incident opened Holbrook's eyes to the growing need to expand the platforms available to him and his cohorts. They needed a more mainstream approach—avenues that would give a degree of validity to their message—not just sideshow news coverage that took small sound bites and shared some tantalizing photos and video. Allusions to his growing desire to give dissenting voices a more equal footing can be found in his speech entitled, "On Watching KSL and Being Brothered(BIG)" where he addressed the anti-trust issues surrounding the LDS church-owned KSL broadcast network.[102] The matter had been growing since 1969 when two other individuals brought a federal suit concerning the news content in Utah. Holbrook quickly became disenchanted with the litigious route and realized that even if he were to be successful, the legal action would not provide his community with a permanent venue for broadcasting their message and providing alternative views.[103]

Holbrook was not pleased with the church's control of the media and wrote a lengthy article laying out his position.[104] However, he eventually dropped the lawsuit against KSL and refocused his efforts on establishing a more positive and enduring platform. He brought all his skill and talent to create a media channel to cater to the movement itself and other likeminded individuals and organizations. This would provide for an ongoing platform for ideas, lifestyles, and messages to be heard on their own terms with no reliance on the major media outlets. His efforts eventually paved the way for Utah's first community radio station, KRCL 90.9 FM.[105]

In 1974 a headline on the front page of the *Salt Lake Tribune* summed up the situation, "Where Have The Radicals Gone?"[106] One of the last antiwar marches in Utah marked the entrance "of the things that had been bubbling underneath," as Holbrook put it. He felt the conclusion of the war would not end the need for protest, since the diverse causes that had coalesced around the antiwar movement indeed "took on lives of their own."[107]

Holbrook parlayed his activist skills and bridge building acumen into a career as a state legislator, where he served for three terms. Standing out as the first legislator with a full beard since 1896, he explained that he had the beard because he "could not do the community any serious good if I could not be myself." Holbrook decided to join the establishment to gain a larger platform and provide a "better chance to communicate" with leaders and citizens alike.[108] During his time in state government, Holbrook focused on many issues affecting low income families and played a pivotal role in successfully scuttling the plan to bring the MX missile system to Utah. Intent on obtaining a more permanent platform for the minority and underserved populations in Utah, he did not seek a fourth term so that he could focus all his efforts on the establishment of the community radio station.

Deemed by some as the "largest and most effective antiwar movement in American history," antiwarriors during the Vietnam War organized to challenge their governments, neighbors, families, and friends.[109] Countless individuals participated at one level or another, and the movement found adherents in the most remote corners of the United States. It was marked by heightened tension and revolt, highlighted by expressions of extremism, and at times, violence. However, as the experience in Utah demonstrates, antiwarriors often employed utilitarian means of protestation. Grasping for meaning and purpose in the dizzying world in which they found themselves, Utah's antiwarriors strategically positioned themselves to engage with opponents and observers alike. Leaders, like Holbrook, viewed the chaotic landscape and determined that strategy and sensibility were critical to bringing diverse groups to the table. Methods aimed to reach the broadest audience possible—not only to speak to those cut from the same cloth—tactically delivering the antiwar message to ordinary citizens throughout the state. They challenged those who opposed them to hear their message and communicate one with another. Leveraging the democratic tools within the social and political system enabled Holbrook and his cohorts a distinct platform in Utah. The message and the messengers were ordinary citizens concerned about others, not enraged individuals on the fringes of society wanting to war with neighbors of their community. The packaging was palatable to a much wider audience, offering an American movement, not a revolutionary one.

—

Web Extra

The author, Scott Thomas, sat down with Stephen Holbrook to discuss his antiwar activities and subsequent career as an activist. To listen to their conversation, visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras.

—

Notes

1 Isidor Feinstein Stone, *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, October 17, 1966. Stone, commonly known as I. F. Stone or Izzy Stone, was a nationally recognized figure within journalism circles throughout the twentieth century. Known for his outspoken and unfiltered views, his weekly newsletter reached thousands of subscribers. For further info regarding Stone's life, achievements, and reputation, see Myra MacPherson, *All Governments Lie! The Life and Times of Rebel Journalist I. F. Stone* (New York: Scribner rep., 2008).

2 Charles DeBenedetti with Charles Chatfield, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam War Era* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 81–102; Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 74–112.

3 DeBenedetti with Chatfield, *An American Ordeal*, 103–138; Varon, *Brining the War Home*, 151–195.

4 DeBenedetti with Chatfield, *An American Ordeal*, 390–402.

5 Ibid., 387.

6 For context regarding the conservative dominance during this time, see D. Michael Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," *Dialogue: A Journal of*

Mormon Thought 26 (Summer 1993): 1–87; and Gregory A. Prince and William P. Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 279–357. Like any large group, adherents to the LDS church have, and continue to, espouse various political views and affiliations. With overwhelming allegiance to the Republican party since the early twentieth century, the machinations that occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are key to understanding the conservative nature of Utah's politics. See Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2004); and Johnathan H. Moyer, "Dancing with the Devil: The Making of the Mormon-Republican Pact" (PhD diss., University of Utah, 2009).

7 The term antiwarriors was popularized in Melvin Small, *Antiwarriors: The Vietnam War and the Battle for America's Hearts and Minds* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2002).

8 Speech notes, box 17, fd. 22, Stephen Holbrook Papers, 1946–2005, Mss B 1660, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter Holbrook Papers). After serving eighteen months of his two-year LDS church mission, Holbrook decided that he "was not a believer" and returned home early. Stephen Holbrook, interview by Kathryn French, October 17, 2006, transcript, p. 5, Oral History of Utah Peace Activists Project, Utah Valley University, Orem, Utah. Holbrook maintained his cultural affinity with the LDS church, but received some negative comments from believers within the Mormon faith. He utilized his Mormon network throughout his career and enjoyed touting his Mormon heritage to activists antiwarriors alike. When asked about his Utah Mormon roots he would respond, "I belong here, I'm part of this community." He even arranged for counterculture icon Jerry Rubin to visit Salt Lake City where Holbrook took him on a personal tour of Temple Square and shared with Rubin the Mormon story. Holbrook, interview, October 17, 2006, p. 15.

9 "Holbrook receives award for public service efforts," *Davis County Clipper,* January 28, 1992.

10 The other Utahn was Peter Kaiser. Untitled manuscript, box 1, fd. 7, Holbrook Papers. The night before he left for Mississippi, Holbrook received two threatening phone calls. "U. Junior Leaves to Join Mississippi Rights Drive," *Deseret News and Telegram,* July 1, 1964.

11 "For 2 U. students, Civil Rights Movement became personal," *Daily Utah Chronicle,* April 24, 1989.

12 "Utahn Leaves Dixie Jail Afer Rights Case Arrest," *Salt Lake Tribune,* August 23, 1964; "Utahn Leaves Dixie Jail Afer Rights Case Arrest," *Deseret News*, August 24, 1964.

13 Holbrook, interview, October 17, 2006, p. 5.

14 Ibid., p. 8.

15 "For 2 U. students, Civil Rights Movement became personal"; "Voices of the U.," *Continuum: The Magazine of the University of Utah* 6 (Fall 1996): 28; Joe Stohel, "'A' is for Activist 'C' is for Community: Steve Holbrook's Long Road From Civil Rights to Utah's Future," *The Event: News, Art, and Entertainment* 16 (August 1996): 7–8. For a list of illegal and violent acts against volunteers in Mississippi and local black residents, put together by Holbrook, see Running Summary of Incidents, box 1, fd. 17, Holbrook Papers. This list of events is over forty pages in length.

16 "Civil Rights Worker Tells Inside Story," *Daily Utah Chronicle,* September 28, 1964.

17 "White Association Disclaims Violence Charges As Negroes Point to 5 Deaths" and "New Racist Organization Terrorizes Several South Mississippi Counties," *Delta Democrat-Times,* May 10, 1964.

18 "Utah Rights Worker Relates Convictions," *Deseret News,* August 27, 1964; "Utah Civil Rights Worker is Jailed," *Deseret News,* August 22, 1964; "Civil Rights Worker Tells Inside Story," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, September 28, 1964; Steve Holbrook to Fellow Utahan, August 1965, box 1 fd. 6, Holbrook Papers.

19 "Civil Rights Worker Tells Inside Story," *Daily Utah Chronicle,* September 28, 1964. Hoover was not the only federal official unwilling to step into the fray; for further context to the inaction of government officials, see Robert Justin Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America: From 1870 to 1976* (Cambridge: Schenckman, 1978; rev. ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 287–396.

20 "Utah Rights Worker Relates Convictions," *Deseret News*, August 27, 1964.

21 "For 2 U. students, Civil Rights Movement became personal."

22 Ibid. In an interview in 1964, Holbrook stated that he agreed with the psychiatrist who said, "If Mississippi were a human being instead of state, it would have been declared insane and locked up long ago." ("Civil Rights Worker Tells Inside Story," *Daily Utah Chronicle,* September 28, 1964.)

23 Stohel, "'A' is for Activist 'C' is for Community," 8.

24 Speech Notes, box 17, fd. 22, Holbrook Papers. Shortly after returning from his LDS mission, Holbrook left the Mormon faith but always maintained his cultural Mormon heritage.

25 Proposed Resolution of Censure Regarding Discrimination Practiced by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), box 1, fd. 29, Holbrook Papers.

26 Stohel, "'A' is for Activist 'C' is for Community," 8. For clarification, the NAACP were not concerned with the priesthood ban in place for blacks. In fact, Holbrook specifically noted that, "They didn't care about that." This is affirmed in a circular from the NAACP President Johnie M. Driver; see L.D.S. Church Leaders Should Speak Out for Moral Justice, box 1, fd. 29, Holbrook Papers.

27 "For 2 U. students, Civil Rights Movement became personal." For examples of religious organizations working for the betterment of civil rights and opposing Vietnam, see "Selma, Civil Rights, and the Church Militant," *Newsweek*, March 29, 1965; DeBenedetti with Chatfield, *An American Ordeal*, 100–14, 144–45, 272–74, 294–97; and Mitchell K. Hall, "CALCAV and Religious Opposition to the Vietnam War," in *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement—Essays from the Charles DeBenedetti Memorial Conference*, edited by Melvin Small and William D. Hoover (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 35–52.

28 "Mississippi's Law," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 9, 1964.

29 "Civil Rights Worker Tells Inside Story," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, September 28, 1964.

30 Holbrook, interview by Kathryn French, October 26, 2006, p. 3, Oral History of Utah Peace Activists Project; Holbrook, interview, October 17, 2006, p. 3.

31 "Jazz Show for the Needy," *Deseret News,* May 22, 1965. The event took place on May 19, 1965.

32 "For 2 U. students, Civil Rights Movement became personal."

33 Ibid.

34 "Vietnam, Free Elections," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, April 21, 1965.

35 "Pacifists Stage Protest Walk in S.L., Slap U.S. Involvement in Viet Nam," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 18, 1965.

36 Bruce Phillips, "Behind the Wasatch Curtain," *Electric News* 1 no. 4 ([1968?]): 12.

37 "Panel Views Pros, Cons of Viet War," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 13, 1965.

38 Prior to working for the NAACP, Holbrook had worked as the campaign manager for Republican State Senator Sherman P. Lloyd. When Senator Lloyd learned that Holbrook was employed with the NAACP, he wrote him a letter and gave the young Holbrook some timely advice: "he urged me to be careful in my views . . . and not to be extreme in my actions." Holbrook, interview, October 17, 2006, p. 6.

39 For the Civil Rights Movement's impact on the LDS church and vice versa, see Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay*, 60–105. For an analysis of the complexity surrounding the historical roots of the priesthood ban, see Paul W. Reeve, *Religion of A Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); and Lester Bush, "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Spring 1973): 11–68.

40 Holbrook, interview, October 17, 2006, p. 7.

41 Ibid., p. 3.

42 Ibid., p. 6–7. In an interesting encounter, Holbrook approached a young activist who attended a rally with a poster of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. He approached the young activist and stated, "You have every right to express your view. But the point of view you're expressing doesn't express what most of the people here feel, and it's counterproductive to our purpose in being here." The young man took down the sign, which pleased Holbrook, who was constantly looking for ways to present his movement to the broadest audience. While the young protestor accommodated the request, he apparently did not absorb Holbrook's warnings and was later arrested for hijacking a plane from the Salt Lake City Airport and ending up in Cuba. After the arrest, Holbrook was approached by his parents who asked that he help free their son. Holbrook leveraged many of his governmental ties, and the young man was released. None of this would have been possible had Holbrook been a bomb thrower and not a bridge builder. Plus, he had sympathy for those who struggled to express their angst and understood that it was possible "to get a little caught up in your own rhetoric and your own ideas."

43 Ibid., p. 14.

44 "Police Drag Off 8 in S.L. Sit-in; U. Meet Hotly Debates Arrests," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 21, 1967. Holbrook derided the Salt Lake City police and justice system for taking so much time prosecuting a demonstration involving only eight individuals. "Police Statism: Most Apparent In Court," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, December 4, 1967.

45 For a superb contextualization of the role the University of Utah played during the Vietnam War, see Nicole L. Thompson, "Utah, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, and the University of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 78 (Spring 2010): 154–74.

46 Holbrook, interview, October 26, 2006, p. 2–3.

47 Ibid., p. 3.

48 "'Spectrum Vietnam,' Question Unresolved," *Deseret News*, October 9, 1967; "'Spectrum Vietnam' Fails to Resolve Question of U.S. Asia Involvement," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 9, 1967.

49 Thompson, "Utah, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, and the University of Utah," 156.

50 Douglas Robinson, "25,000 March to Back Vietnam Policy," *New York Times*, October 31, 1965. According to the article, "about 100 students at Brigham Young University paraded through town in support" of the government policy in Vietnam. In addition, two years later, BYU President Ernest Wilkinson praised a group of BYU students "for their march down Center Street in favor of the war in Vietnam." James S. Olsen, "Graduate School: Personal Odyssey," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Winter 1972): 68. Other schools and groups held prowar marches and rallies; see DeBenedetti with Chatfield, *An American Ordeal*, 124–26. For further references regarding the peculiarity of BYU's pro-war stance, see "A University without Trouble," *U.S. News and World Report*, January 20, 1969; and John Dart, "BYU: A Campus of Peace and Patriotism," *Los Angeles Times*, March 23, 1970. For an overview of the war years at BYU, see Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 173–226; and Gary James Bergera, "Student Political Activism at Brigham Young University, 1965–71," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 81 (Winter 2013): 65–90.

51 Bergera, "Student Political Activism at Brigham Young University," 68–73. Conscientious objectors of the war found an ally in Elder Gordon B. Hinckley of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles who stated during a devotional speech on campus that individuals had a right to oppose the war in Vietnam: "A man has to live with his conscience, his principles, his convictions and testimony, and without that he is as miserable as hell. Excuse me, but I believe it." Gordon B. Hinckley, as quoted in Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University*, 183. A year prior to these remarks, Hinckley had stated during the LDS church General Conference that he would "make no defense of the war from this pulpit." In his view, the war raging in Vietnam posed major questions that were not to be taken lightly. He felt there was "no simple answer" and that the problems were, to a real degree, "beyond comprehension." Unwilling to endorse the conflict, he chose to give a nod to protestors within the LDS church. A decade prior to these remarks, a member of the First Presidency, Hugh B. Brown, made similarly direct statements in defense of the Civil Rights Movement; see "We Do Not Deny Full Civic Rights to Any Person," *Millennial Star*, November 1963. The use of the term "civic rights" versus "civil rights" was employed, according to Stephen Holbrook, because the LDS church leaders "could not bear to use the word 'civil.'" Holbrook, interview, October 17, 2006, p. 7.

52 "Global Marches Protest U.S. Vietnam Policies," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 16, 1969.

53 Holbrook, interview, October 26, 2006, p. 2–3.

54 "Coast Liberal Blames Viet War on U. S. Imperialistic Attitude," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 13, 1969. Peaceful moratoriums were held that same day in London, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Melbourne, Helsinki, and Russia. For further insights into the global impact of the protests, see the superb work by Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

55 The number of people who came to actively associate with UFEW is unclear, though a thirty-page manifest contains hundreds of names, addresses, and phone numbers. See List of Members, box 2, fd. 27, Holbrook

Papers. As scholars have pointed out, many antiwar organizations were loosely organized, and membership was fluid among the various groups. DeBenedetti with Chatfield, *An American Ordeal,* 168–202; David Farber, "The Counterculture and the Antiwar Movement," in *Give Peace a Chance*, 7–21.

56 For Immediate Release, box 2, fd. 24, Holbrook Papers.

57 Activities for Utah United Front to End the War, box 2, fd. 24, Holbrook Papers.

58 "Many Back Watson, Blast Defense Of Present U.S. Vietnamese Policy," *Daily Universe*, November 17, 1969. The interaction with Professor Poll is unique due to the fact that Poll was well known for his sympathy to liberal causes and agendas. It is possible that Poll spoke out in the meeting to demonstrate his willingness to call any person into question, not just those that espoused views contrary to his own. At the time of the debate, Poll had been reeling from an investigation into his employment at BYU due to his "liberalism." For further context of Poll's liberal leanings and the conflict it caused with university administrators, including President Wilkinson, see Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University*, 202–7.

59 Several speakers did address the BYU student body and faculty during the Vietnam War years. They spoke against U.S. involvement and supported the protest movements. However, these were smaller venues sponsored by departments and colleges on campus, not school-sanctioned forums. For examples of the types of antiwar speeches and talks, see Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University*, 180–98. Because Watson's speech is not mentioned by Bergera and Priddis or other major works on the history of Brigham Young University, it is difficult to determine if it is the only instance of an antiwarrior being formally invited to speak on campus. For further insight from the official newspaper of the university, see "The 1960s: a BYU oasis of calm and campus building; a decade of turmoil abroad," *Daily Universe*, November 15, 2005.

60 Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 3:328.

61 Ibid., 3:323.

62 Edwin J. Butterworth and David H. Yarn, eds., *Earnestly Yours: Selected Addresses of Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson, University President, Attorney, Churchman, Patriot, Civic Leader* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 74, 79–80.

63 Ibid., 214–15.

64 Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, eds., *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Dissent in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1990; 2nd ed., 2002), 140–43; David Cunningham, *There's Something Happening Here: The New Left, the Klan, and FBI Counterintelligence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 238, 282; Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America*, 526. BYU also had their own unique method for labeling, tracking, and ferreting out anti-communist sympathizers on campus. Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University*, 207–19; D. Michael Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson," 1–87; Jeff D. Blake, "Ernest L. Wilkinson and the 1966 BYU Spy Ring: A Response to D. Michael Quinn," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28 (Spring 1995): 163–72; D. Michael Quinn, "A Reply," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28 (Spring 1995): 173–77.

65 Frank Donner, *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 65–90.

66 Holbrook, interview, October 26, 2006, p. 3.

67 "S.L. Police Spied on Citizens in '60s," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 5, 1984; "Police 'Spying' No Big Deal, But Don't Attempt It Again," *Salt Lake Tribune,* December 7, 1984; "Act, Not React," *Salt Lake Tribune,* December 26, 1984. Holbrook maintained respect and appreciation for the local police he worked with during his antiwarrior days, especially Captain Harry Patrick; see Holbrook, interview, October 26, 2006, p. 3. The FBI coordinated and maintained with many informants during the latter part of the 1960s. A Freedom of Information Act request regarding FBI files on one single antiwar group in Utah—Salt Lake City Draft Resisters—afforded 105 pages, covering the years 1968–1970. Files in possession of author.

68 Ethel C. Hale to Shirley Pedler, January 31, 1985, box 2, fd. 18, Holbrook Papers.

69 "Act, Not React," *Salt Lake Tribune,* December 26, 1984.

70 The habit of appending other causes to the antiwar movement in major protest hubs in the United States has received attention from historians. For examples of this occurring in major cities, see DeBenedetti with Chatfield, *An American Ordeal,* 27–51, 66, 153–57; Mary Aickin Rothschild, *A Case of Black and White: Northern Volunteers and the Southern Freedom Summers, 1964–1965* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1982), 182–83; and Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 117, 123–26.

71 "City Turns Down Rally Request for Loudspeaker," *Deseret News*, April 16, 1970. Holbrook was chairman of the Festival of Life, while Scheer served as chairman of the Coalition to End Pollution.

72 Douglas L. Epperson, Jeffrey Fox, and D. Stephen Holbrook, vs. The Sugar House Park Authority, box 17, fd. 10, Holbrook Papers.

73 Untitled document, box 2, fd. 22, Holbrook Papers.

74 University of Utah vs. Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.), et al., box 2, fd. 22, Holbrook Papers.

75 "U. of U. Demonstrations Against Asia War Culminate In Demands That Student Newspaper Urge 'Strike,'" *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 6, 1970; "On Strike! Students storm Chrony," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 6, 1970; "Non-Violence Stressed at Rally," *Daily Utah Chronicle,* May 7, 1970.

76 "Arsonist-Set Fire Razes Structure on U.'s Campus," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 12, 1970; "Nothing Serious," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 12, 1970; "Intercultural Center burned Monday," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 12, 1970; "Don't Let Reason Go Up In Smoke," *Deseret News*, May 12, 1970.

77 Holbrook, interview, October 17, 2006, p. 12.

78 Ibid., 11–12.

79 Curt Burnett, "Hecklers Were Disruptive," *Deseret News*, October 1, 1970.

80 "50 cents per plate for GOP," *Toronto Telegram*, October 1, 1970. Interestingly, while outsiders found this story worth writing about, there is scant reference to the event in Utah's popular press. One underground newspaper did have an editorial on the $.50 cent dinner; see *Wasatch Front: A Peoples' Paper*, October 19, 1970.

81 "Youth Group in Utah Pioneers a New Approach to Protest," *Washington Post*, December 13, 1970.

82 "Been . . .," *Wasatch Front*, October 19, 1970.

83 "Fall Action Proposal," *Wasatch Front*, October 19, 1970.
84 "Stop the War!" *Wasatch Front*, October 19, 1970.
85 Press release, box 2, fd. 23, Holbrook Papers.
86 "2,000 March to Support Asia Peace," *Ogden Standard Examiner*, May 16, 1971.
87 "Mass strike planned for bombing protest," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, April 20, 1972; "Groups give unity to Viet protest," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, April 25, 1972.
88 According to Title 4 of the United States Code, section 8(a), "The flag should never be displayed with union down, except as a signal of dire distress in instances of extreme danger to life or property." (John R. Luckey, "The United States Flag: Federal Law Relating to Display and Associated Questions," *CRS Report for Congress* [Order Code RL30243: Updated April 14, 2008], 6.)
89 "Civilian Bombing Cited At Rally," *Deseret News*, April 24, 1972; "Group Mourns War Dead In Viet Protest," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 24, 1972; "Marchers in S.L. Protest Renewed Viet Bombing," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 25, 1972.
90 Building An Alternative System, box 2, fd. 2, Holbrook Papers.
91 Where Do We Go From Here?, box 2, fd. 2, Holbrook Papers.
92 Executive Committee to Stephen Holbrook, 22 July 1971; Final Report of American Committee to Organize Anti-War Congress, July 30, 1971; both in box 2, fd. 20, Holbrook Papers.
93 Mac Turner to Stephen Holbrook, n.d.; Emergency Nationwide Moratorium May 4 [1972]; both in box 2, fd. 24, Holbrook Papers.
94 "Trib sit-in results in 'trespass' arrests," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 19, 1971; "13 Arrested in Sit-In," *Deseret News*, May 19, 1971; "34 Protesters Invade Tribune, Police Arrest 13," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 19, 1971. The *Salt Lake Tribune* published an open apology the following day for the "lengthy accounts of the 'sit-in' that occurred in its news room on Tuesday" that filled a large portion of its newspaper with the events and transcript of the conversation between Holbrook and publisher Jack W. Gallivan. "Tribune Apologizes to Its Readers For Overexposure of Sit-Ins," May 20, 1971.
95 "Voices of the U," 28.
96 "Protest Brings Police," *Deseret News*, May 10, 1972; "S.L. Crowd Stages Viet Protest," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 10, 1972; "U.S. Anti-War Protesters Run Amok," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 10, 1972. An angry Utahn sent a copy of the *Deseret News* article to Holbrook with comments written in the margins such as, "President Nixon knows more of the situation than you will ever dream of—go some place else." Regarding the burning of Nixon in effigy, the angry correspondent wrote, "This is a disgrace—why don't you leave the country if you can't support it?" The disgruntled citizen did not leave a name. (Box 2, fd. 42, Holbrook Papers.)
97 "Peaceful Protest: A Contrast," *Deseret News*, May 11, 1972.
98 "War marchers granted TV time," *Daily Utah Chronicle*, May 11, 1972. Three others were interviewed along with Holbrook: Ethel Hale, a black man named Will, and an unidentified male.
99 Stephen Holbrook to Elder Gordon B. Hinckley, June 23, 1972, box 2, fd. 17, Holbrook Papers. Elder Hinckley responded to Holbrook and thanked him for his letter. Gordon B. Hinckley to Stephen Holbrook, August 14, 1972, box 16, fd. 2, Holbrook Papers.
100 If Nixon Won't End the War, The Congress Must!, box 2, fd. 21, Holbrook Papers.
101 "Group Gains Capitol Use But No Anti-War Action," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 20, 1973.
102 On Watching KSL and Being Brothered (BIG), box 11, fd. 3, Holbrook Papers.
103 "FCC Denies Hearing On KSL License," *Deseret News*, January 23, 1969; "Hearing on Mormon TV May Be Forced to FCC," *Washington Post*, May 19, 1969.
104 "Over-censoring of news a problem in Utah," *Summer Chronicle*, July 15, 1969. For further details surrounding this issue, see the documents in box 11, fd. 5 and fd. 6, Holbrook Papers.
105 "Volunteer radio station about to go on the air," *Deseret News*, November 6, 1979; "Novel S.L. Radio Station, KRCL-FM, Debuts Monday," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 2, 1979; Barb Guy, "KRCL: Salt Lake's Radio Gem," *Catalyst* 23 (December 2004): 25–29; The Beginning, box 11, fd. 25, Holbrook Papers.
106 "Where Have The Radicals Gone?" *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 8, 1974.
107 Stohel, "'A' is for Activist 'C' is for Community," 8.
108 "Bearded Activist 'in System,'" *Denver Post*, February 17, 1975. Holbrook received the "Give a Damn Award" in 1992 for actively "making positive social change in Utah for many years." He was recognized for his work among the homeless, low income, education reform and other social issues. "Holbrook receives award for public service efforts," *Davis County Clipper*, January 28, 1992.
109 Melvin Small, *Covering Dissent: The Media and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 1.

A suspension bridge spanning Brown's Park. The county's diminutive size and isolation in the Green River basin have made it the state's most sparsely populated. This essay attempts to highlight the history of Daggett County and, like the bridge in this image, connect that history to the state and region. (USHS)

DAGGETT COUNTY AT 100:
NEW APPROACHES TO A COLORFUL PAST

BY CLINT PUMPHREY

Situated in the northeast corner of the state, Daggett County is perhaps the most geographically isolated of all Utah counties. Geologically and historically, it shares as much or more in common with the Green River–Rock Springs area of southwest Wyoming than neighboring Uintah County to the south, to which it once belonged. In those days, before highways and snowplows, the county seat at Vernal might as well have been on Mars for residents living on the North Slope of the mighty Uinta Mountains. On issues from land ownership and water rights to road construction and schools, these citizens felt that their voices were not properly represented. That is why, on July 31, 1917, inhabitants of this remote region voted to leave Uintah County and form their own government, headquartered in Manila. Today, Daggett County remains somewhat isolated. With just over 1,000 people, it has the distinction of being Utah's smallest county by population; the fastest route to Utah's populous Wasatch Front actually takes drivers through Wyoming. Residents share a single state representative with Duchesne, Morgan, Rich, and Summit counties and a state senator with Duchesne, Summit, Uintah, and Wasatch counties. Their children attend one of just two elementary schools or the lone high school in the Daggett School District. Still, as Daggett commemorates the 100th anniversary of its founding, the county's remarkably rich history deserves to be revisited.

Daggett County occupies a relatively narrow strip of high-elevation forest, woodland, grassland, shrubland, and semi-desert sandwiched between the Uinta Mountains and the Wyoming border in extreme northeastern Utah. Its defining feature is the Green River, which enters the county from the north, cutting a deep path south before bending sharply to the east and exiting the county on its border with Colorado. About halfway down this segment of the river stands the Flaming Gorge Dam, a 500-foot-tall concrete arch structure that spans Red Canyon and holds back a 42,000-acre reservoir that stretches north across the border into Wyoming.[1] West of the reservoir is Manila, the county's seat of government and largest town, with a population of 324 in 2016. The Manila area also includes much of the county's productive agricultural land,

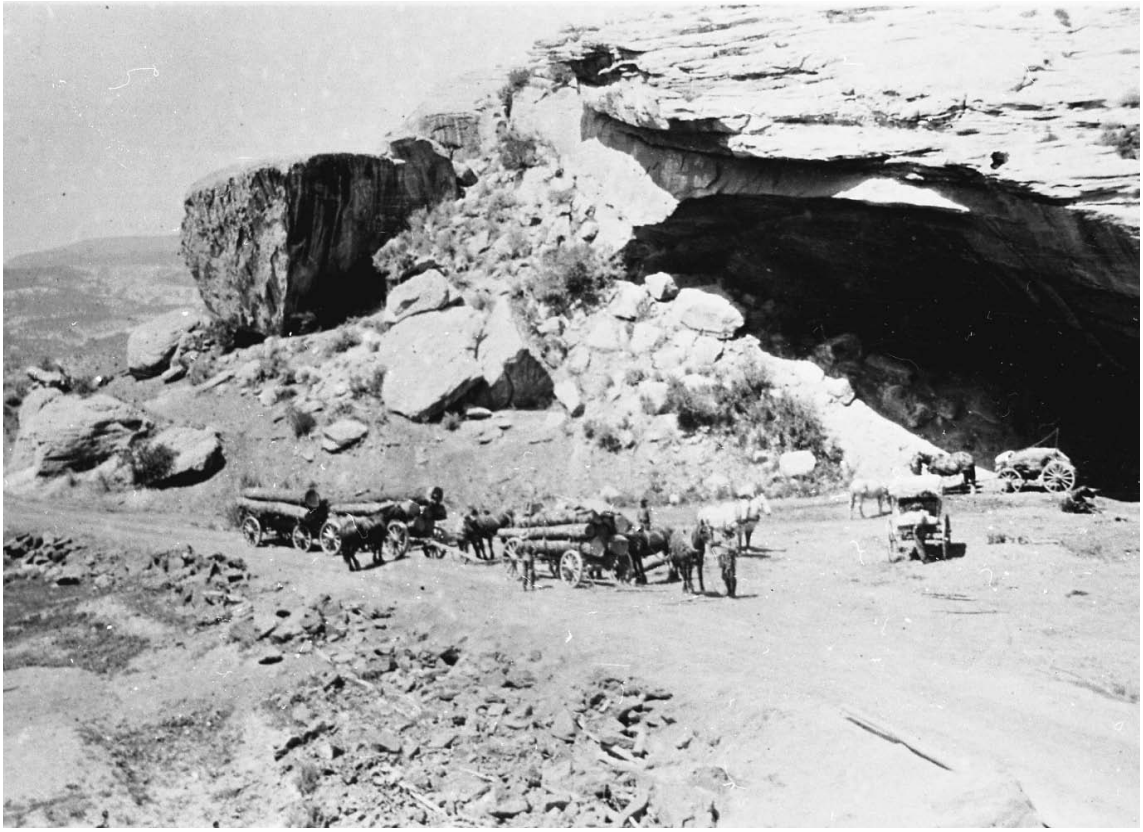
which is mainly used to grow hay and raise cattle. To the east of the reservoir is the county's other population center, Dutch John, a community of 151 people that was originally founded to house federal employees working at the Flaming Gorge Dam.[2] Farther east, where the Green River exits the county, is Browns Park, once a haven for fur trappers and outlaws that is now home to scattered ranching operations. Here, where the river intersects the Colorado state line, is the lowest point in the county, at 5,370 feet. The highest region lies along the southern border with Uintah County, which traces the summit of the Uinta Mountains for much of its length. Straddling the west end of this boundary, near Daggett's border with Summit County, is the county high point: the 12,276-foot-tall Eccentric Peak.

Because of the geographic barrier created by the Uinta Mountains, lawmakers beginning in the nineteenth century seemed unsure what to do with the present-day Daggett region, and it bounced from county to county after the creation of Utah Territory in 1850. Its first home was in Green River County, a massive administrative division created by the territorial legislature in 1852. When the United States formed Wyoming Territory in 1868, Utah's portion of the once expansive county was reduced to a strip of land on the North Slope of the Uintas. In 1872 the legislature tacked that remaining sliver on to Summit County, only to move it to Uintah County in 1880. The new county seat was at Vernal, a treacherous sixty-mile mountain traverse south from Manila.[3]

A couple of possible names were floated for the new county: either Finch County, in honor of its oldest resident, George Finch, or Daggett County, after Ellsworth Daggett, Utah's first surveyor general.

For residents of the lower Flaming Gorge region, this arrangement was far from ideal. In the late nineteenth century, they did not have the paved, all-weather road that now carries cars from Manila to Vernal in just over an hour. Rather, the trip could take days. Particularly problematic were the six to eight months out of the year when snow made travel across the Uinta Mountains not only difficult but nearly impossible. Determined travelers would take to snowshoes or look for alternate routes that took them far out of their way. The *Vernal Express* described one such excursion from Vernal to Manila, made by A. O. Nielson in March 1916. Nielson "tried to cross the mountain on snow shoes but found the snow too soft, so he returned and left this morning on the Duchesne stage," likely en route to Price. From there he hopped on a train to "go around by Salt Lake."[4] By rail he reached Green River, Wyoming, where he would then have to embark on the forty-five-mile journey south to Manila. As the *Myton Free Press* put it, residents with wintertime business in Vernal "must travel 400 miles to make [a] 60 mile trip."[5]

Such travel difficulties left citizens of what was then northern Uintah County feeling isolated in other ways as well. By the early twentieth century, county and state government began to play a significantly larger role in Utahans' day-to-day lives, regulating land, water, livestock, and other issues central to rural life. These entities also built roads, which became increasingly important with the proliferation of the automobile. In 1907 some disaffected northern residents appealed to Uintah County for road funds while chiding them for only helping the area during an election year. "You always remember us when election comes," wrote the Manila correspondent for the *Vernal Express*, "now you can help a much needed benefit to our county."[6] Further complicating the lives of northern residents was the loss of local control over education when, in 1914, schools consol-



Logs hauled from the Uinta Mountains on what is now Highway 191 at Brush Creek. The isolation and rough terrain made travel difficult, most particularly the non-mechanized type, like that seen in this image. (Used by permission, Uintah County Library Regional History Center, all rights reserved)

idated into a single countywide district. Frustration with the government in Vernal was mounting.[7]

In 1913 some northern Uintah County residents saw an opportunity to manage their own affairs when Governor Spry signed into law H.B. 146, matter-of-factly titled "Manner of Creating a New County Out of an Existing County." The law's immediate purpose was to allow residents of eastern Wasatch County to break away and form what became Duchesne County. Like residents of northern Uintah County, those living in eastern Wasatch County were geographically isolated from the seat of government at Heber City and felt underrepresented in decisions related to schools and roads. But support for the division came from western county residents as well: it was, after all, state representative William L. Van Wagoner of Midway who initially proposed the bill. "The establishment of a new county out of the eastern portion of the present Wasatch County is greatly desired by the inhabitants of both sections," explained Ogden's *Evening Standard* newspaper. "A division would greatly facilitate the transaction of public business."[8] Still, disagreements over the new boundary and county seat led to the failure of the first vote in July 1913, and only after a year-long debate did a satisfactory compromise emerge. The measure passed in July 1914.[9]

Energized by Duchesne County's success, residents of northern Uintah County began to plan their own secession. A couple of possible names were floated for the new county: either Finch County, in honor of its oldest resident, George Finch, or Daggett County, after Ellsworth Daggett, Utah's first surveyor general. By February 1917 it seemed they had their answer as the Daggett County Citizens' League organized to promote and plan for the creation of the new county.[10] Supporter Frank Nebeker delivered a petition to the Uintah County Commission on

May 7 in which 636 signatories called for an election to be held on the subject. The commission set the vote for July 31, 1917.[11]

Supporters of the new county won in a landslide. Despite some initial concern that the contest would be as contentious as the formation of Duchesne County, Uintah County officials and residents largely backed the creation of Daggett County on the first vote. While the ballots in the north broke 74 to 0 in favor of the change, a healthy majority in the south—325 to 156—backed it as well.[12] In fact, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported a relatively light turnout south of the Uintas, noting that "the majority of the residents of Uintah county were agreeable to leaving the matter almost entirely in the hands of the residents of the district to be embraced in the new county."[13]

The people had spoken, and on November 16, 1917, Utah Secretary of State Harden Bennion signed the proclamation to create Daggett County, effective January 7, 1918. Given the small population of the new county—just 400 or so residents—there was a push to have one person carry out all official duties of the county.[14] Ultimately, they settled on seven officers, though, as Price's *Sun* newspaper noted, "officials of Daggett county will not become millionaires on the salaries they receive."[15] In October, community leaders nominated three county commissioners, a clerk/recorder, assessor/treasurer, sheriff, and attorney, and residents unanimously approved those selections through an election held on December 24, 1917. Voters chose the county seat as well, with all but one vote in support of Manila, the county's largest town, which the *Salt Lake Tribune* described as "centrally located in one of the largest portions of the arable area of the region."[16] The single dissenting vote was in support of Linwood, cast by a wishful resident of that community.[17]

One hundred years later, Daggett County remains an outlier not only geographically but also in the canon of Utah history. While much research on the state's past understandably focuses on the urban areas along the Wasatch Front and the celebrated red rock desert to the south, far less has been done to capture the history of Utah's far northeast corner. A quick search of the 448 issues on the Utah Division of State History's publications page shows just thirty-nine that mention Daggett County.[18] Compare that to 234 and 144 that reference Salt Lake County and San Juan County, respectively. Daggett County, in fact, garners the fewest mentions of any county in the state. Certainly, some of this disparity can be explained by the county's small size and population. But it also suggests that historians may overlook the significant role of the greater Green River country when exploring topics central to Utah's past, including prehistory, architecture, tourism, reclamation, and the federal presence.

The earliest comprehensive efforts to compile the county's history include Dick and Vivian Dunham's *Our Strip of Land: A History of Daggett County, Utah* (1947) and *Flaming Gorge Country: The Story of Daggett County, Utah* (1967). While these works excel as engaging and richly detailed primers of the county's history, the Dunhams' books lack the historical context and citations that situate the county in the broader scholarly conversation. Such methods were, however, a part of Michael W. Johnson's *A History of Daggett County: A Modern Frontier* (1996), which served as Daggett's contribution to the Utah State Historical Society's Centennial County History Series. The scope of Johnson's work—from prehistory to the present—precluded an exhaustive examination of any one topic, but its thorough research offers a solid foundation for future study of the region.

Aside from these county-specific histories, the Daggett region sometimes factors prominently in works addressing other topics. Given the centrality of the Green River to the exploration and settlement of northeastern Utah and the surrounding area, it is no surprise that historians have concentrated their efforts on events surrounding the turbulent, meandering waterway. The scenic river and the Flaming Gorge Dam, which has controlled the channel's flow since 1964, are the subject of a number of books and articles, easily making it the most studied aspect of the county. Foremost among these are works on John Wesley Powell's Green and Colorado River expeditions of 1869 and 1871–72.[19] The grizzly Civil War major is an important figure in a couple of other volumes that more broadly examine the exploration, surveying, and recreation along the stretch of river inundated after construction of the dam: Roy Webb's *If We Had a*

Boat (1986) and *Lost Canyons of the Green River: The Story Before Flaming Gorge Dam* (2012). But like the members of Powell's first expedition, historians rarely have ventured beyond the rim of the canyon. Those who have address topics ranging from the Swett and John Jarvie ranches to the Carter Road and public education—subjects that, while influenced by the Green River's centrality to the geography and culture of the region, are not focused on people exploring the region by boat.[20]

As historians work to expand their exploration of Daggett County's past, one challenge will be identifying primary source material on which to base the research. Perhaps due in part to the county's historically modest population and relative newcomer status within the constellation of Utah counties, little documentation from those who inhabited the region has found its way into the state's government and university archives. Such records largely consist of recollections, which, while valuable in their firsthand connection to Daggett County's past, lack the day-to-day details of journals or correspondence.[21] What few collections that have survived barely did: the fall 1964 issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* noted that the records of the Smith and Larsen Mercantile Company and the South Valley Canal Company "were rescued and brought to the [Utah State Historical] Society" after they were "almost lost to the rising waters of the lake forming behind Flaming Gorge Dam."[22] While this dearth of local records can be mitigated through the use of county,[23] state, and federal records, as well as accounts of explorers and surveyors who traveled down the Green River,[24] it should nevertheless serve as a challenge to the state's archivists to expand their collecting efforts in the region wherever possible.

Daggett County's centennial celebration serves as an ideal time for scholars to explore original topics and discover new source material in this often-overlooked corner of Utah. The prospects are wide ranging and require the knowledge and skills of those trained in all aspects of the historical profession, including archaeologists, historic preservationists, academic historians, local historians, and oral historians. While this call for scholarship is broad, encompassing a diverse group of people, places, and events from prehistory to the present, there are some obvious places to start. What follows are five suggested avenues of research to begin this process: archeology, federal lands, recreation, the Flaming Gorge Dam, and historic preservation.

The original Daggett County Courthouse in Manila. County records, including commission minutes, assessor records, clerk/treasurer records, auditor/recorder records, court records, and others, can be accessed at the current courthouse. (USHS)

Researchers must turn not only to archives but also to archaeology and anthropology to learn more about Daggett County's earliest inhabitants. Isolated discoveries in the upper and middle Green River drainages place Paleoindian cultures in northeast Utah as early as 11,000 years ago. The subsequent Archaic and Fremont groups are more broadly represented in the archaeological record, though many questions still remain.[25] Complicating matters was the inundation of countless archaeological sites after the completion of Flaming Gorge Dam in 1964. During the planning stages of construction, the Bureau of Reclamation contracted Dr. Jesse Jennings at the University of Utah to complete "salvage surveys" of the areas to be covered by the Glen Canyon and Flaming Gorge dams. However, Jennings chose to direct much of his limited funding to southern Utah, producing voluminous reports, documents, photographs, and film related to the Colorado and San Juan rivers. The Green River surveys, on the other hand, resulted in just four reports with fewer than one hundred photographs.[26]

While sites under Flaming Gorge Reservoir may now be lost, there are a number of other opportunities to learn more about the prehistoric inhabitants of Daggett County. Little is

known about how Native people used the area in pre-contact times, including whether they visited the area seasonally or lived there on a more long-term basis. But their location between two ecological and cultural areas provides archaeologists and anthropologists with a convenient case study in identity formation, trade and exchange, and cultural adaptation. To that end, studies of travel routes between the plains of Wyoming and the Uintah Basin of Utah could provide insight into who used these trails, how long they used them, and what ideas and goods they exchanged with other cultures. Additionally, the county's location on the North Slope of the Uintas offers an opportunity to explore the Native people's relationship with the mountain landscape, especially in terms of settlement, seasonal occupation, and cosmology.[27] Then, of course, there is the Green River, which, outside the stretch behind the Flaming Gorge Dam, still flows wild through much of the county. Archaeologists have yet to locate agricultural production sites along this corridor despite ample evidence of maize caching in rocky outcrops and granaries. Doing so would help further inform early inhabitants' food production methods, including clues about their hunting trips and seasonal rounds.[28]

When Major John Wesley Powell's congressionally funded expedition roared down Flaming Gorge's rapids in 1871, white settlers had occupied Henry's Fork and Brown's Park for more than two decades. But Powell's visit to the area marked the first instance of a second important theme in Daggett County's history: the presence of the federal government. By the time Daggett County voted itself into existence in 1917, much of its land was already in federal hands, initiating a contentious relationship between Washington and local residents that continues to this day.

The United States Forest Service manages the bulk of these lands: some 257,323 acres, or 55.9 percent of all land in the county.[29] This includes the Ashley National Forest, which President Grover Cleveland designated as part of the Uintah Forest Reserve on February 22, 1897, as well as the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area, which Congress established in 1968.[30] The Bureau of Land Management manages another 113,056 acres, or 24.6 percent. Together, these lands occupy 80.5 percent of the county, making it one of Utah's best examples of what the historian Gerald Nash calls "the federal landscape."[31] Since the creation of the public domain in the nineteenth century and subsequent public land laws in the twentieth, westerners have negotiated the often contentious balance between local autonomy and federal oversight. The creation of the Uintah Forest Reserve in 1897 sparked the first round of controversy, particularly after Congress enacted new rules promoting the sustainable use of forests.[32] Concerned ranchers called for the lands to be transferred to the western states; instead, Congress attempted to mollify their concerns through the Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902, which tagged funds generated from the sale of public lands for use in the construction of reclamation projects, including, eventually, Flaming Gorge Dam.[33]

Still, the contentious relationship between the feds and locals continued. Thelma Biorn, whose husband cut timber in Daggett County beginning in the 1930s, recalls that "the U.S.F.S. [United States Forest Service] did not like to let go of the good timber" so "as in any bureaucracy it sometimes became hard to make a living in the timber business."[34] Similarly, Mary Elizabeth Swett Arrowsmith remembered her father, Oscar Swett, and his sour relationship with the Forest Service while ranching near Greendale from 1909 to 1968. "[The Forest Service] got on Dad's nerves a lot in the later years. Always telling him what to do and how to do it. Dad said he had lived there all his life and he had got around without doing all that stuff [grazing permits, presumably]. And the way they do things now it's worse than ever." But these relationships were complicated. When asked how her family got along with the Forest Service, Arrowsmith's first response was not about conflict, but that "Burt Hardy was the first Forest Service ranger and he, I lived with him when I went to school."[35] Biorn also warmly recalled some area rangers: "We did work with a number of very good rangers, however, and we became lifelong friends with Bill Hurst and his wife, Dolly, and Kenneth Roberts and his wife Stanna."[36] Such accounts show that while frustrations with federal control are longstanding, they were not necessarily personal.

Indeed, the amount of federal land in Daggett County, as well as local residents' opposition

to it, raise some interesting historical questions: What are the roots of conflict over public lands in Daggett County? How did these conflicts differ from those in other corners of the state? How did past confrontations compare with contemporary ones? While today's battles may be nothing more than a continuation of past conflicts, a historical examination might identify some fundamental differences, particularly in light of the changes brought on by the Flaming Gorge Dam. Such an effort could also help illuminate another question: Did federal lands hamper Daggett County's development, as some locals have claimed? How so?

One activity that federal land brought to Daggett County is recreation, a third potentially enlightening topic for historians to explore. In some ways, recreation developed in northeastern Utah in much the same as it did in wealthier tourist areas like Jackson, Wyoming, or any number of places in the West: the traditional economy of a rural, sparsely populated community declined while tourism increased to take its place. In the case of Daggett County, the traditional economy was agriculture—specifically, ranching. In 1950, with World War II in the rearview mirror and the Flaming Gorge Dam still just an idea, local ranchers ran 3,368 cattle and 10,825 sheep in the high forests and rangeland surrounding the Green River. By 2012, however, cattle herds had dropped to 2,638, while sheep all but disappeared with just a hundred remaining in the county. Out of this void emerged sometimes lower-paying leisure and hospitality jobs, which accounted

Fishing at Flaming Gorge, winter 1967. The reservoir offered summer as well as winter recreation, as seen in this image with Fish and Game officer Dick Bennett and two women from Salt Lake City. (Used by permission, Uintah County Library Regional History Center, all rights reserved.)

for a whopping 63.8 percent of private sector employment by 2016.[37] But Daggett County and Jackson Hole are different in one very significant way: the Utah attraction has not become a year-round destination, and it has proven unable to lure the restaurants, shops, and second homes that dominate its Wyoming counterpart.

Indeed, the inability to create a viable off-season attraction compounded the issue of underdevelopment. A 1972 economic development report funded by a federal grant to the Utah State Planning Coordinator actually discouraged the development of additional tourist accommodations due to their inability to provide year-round employment. "A new resort . . . may be brought in which will add a number more man years of employment but they will also bring in more people to be unemployed in off-seasons," the report stated. "The County has enough underemployment. Unless additional jobs either more fully employ residents or add year-round jobs, they may have a negative effect on the present residents in terms of tax burden and environment decay."[38] While other factors—including its distance from major population centers and the underdevelopment of tourist attractions—might also play a role, Daggett County at present has only a handful of the year-round resorts the report imagined.

In this sense, Daggett County's story confounds the "devil's bargain" model, in which communities embrace tourism at the expense of their local identity.[39] Certainly, the county has embraced recreation as an important industry with a flashy Chamber of Commerce website that helped draw some 295,000 people to the Ashley National Forest (including Flaming Gorge) in 2012.[40] But almost all those visitors go home at the end of the summer season, leaving Daggett County the sleepy agricultural region it was for decades before recreation took hold. To enlighten northeast Utah's complicated relationship with recreation, historians could begin by examining the Civilian Conservation Corps' early efforts to improve national forest infrastructure, then trace the changes brought on by the construction of the Flaming Gorge Dam and beyond.[41] In the case of Daggett County, the devil's bargain may have been an embrace of tourism's seasonal economic boon as the best option in the absence of sustainable employment for local residents and steady revenue for county government.

Daggett County and Jackson Hole are different in one very significant way: the Utah attraction has not become a year-round destination.

Central to both public lands and recreation in the county is Flaming Gorge Dam, a cornerstone of the Colorado River Storage Project that represents a fourth potential avenue for research. When the Bureau of Reclamation conceived of the project in the 1940s, they named two sites on the Green River as potential locations for dams: Echo Park in northwestern Colorado and Flaming Gorge in Daggett County. Among others, the proposal also identified Glen Canyon, located near where the Colorado River crosses the Utah–Arizona border. Echo Park Canyon—with its red rock scenery, rich paleontological and archaeological sites, and national monument status—quickly became a lightning rod in the fight between conservationists, who wanted to utilize the canyon for water storage, and preservationists, a new brand of activists who sought to leave the canyon untouched. Ultimately, Congress dropped Echo Park from the project in exchange for preservationists' acquiescence to dams at Glen Canyon and Flaming Gorge. Construction of the Flaming Gorge Dam began in July 1958, and President Lyndon Johnson dedicated the completed project on August 17, 1964.[42]

While scholars have written a number of book-length narratives about the proposed Echo Park Dam and the now-completed Glen Canyon Dam, Flaming Gorge has never received the same treatment.[43] Its role as a bargaining chip in the effort to spare Echo Park Canyon

Flaming Gorge Dam. Flaming Gorge, commissioned as part of the Colorado River Storage Project Act, never generated the controversy that dogged the proposed dam at Echo Park and Glen Canyon Dam, completed in 1963. Still, Daggett's dam and reservoir have had a mixed economic and environmental legacy. (USHS)

certainly raises questions about early preservationists' willingness to negotiate and the ways in which they assigned value to different landscapes, particularly in comparison to today's more hardline stances. On a local level, the dam's construction impacted Daggett County's residents and economy in ways that are not fully understood. Proposed by the Bureau of Reclamation as a tool for economic growth, the project angered some locals who watched their homes and farms disappear as the reservoir waters drowned the town of Linwood and much of the county's best pastureland along with it. "We had lost our Spring range on the Forest and on Horse Shoe Bend on Green River due to the advent of the building of Flaming Gorge Dam," lamented Daggett rancher J. Kent Olsen. "The Government began considering sport, hunting and fishing, more important than agriculture."[44] The reservoir, like the river that filled it, literally divided east and west Daggett County, but the construction of the dam also figuratively divided the county, pitting landowners against reclamation advocates.

To this day, the dam's legacy remains unclear. Its three generators provide enough energy to power 50,000 homes, and its reservoir helps control flooding along the Green River while supplying much-needed water to communities across the arid region. Dam operations and management of its recreational resources provide dozens of steady jobs in a county that has not managed to bounce back from the 2007–2009 recession as strongly as the state as a whole. The National Recreation Area, too, attracts hundreds of thousands of people—and their money—to the region each year. A favorite pastime is fishing for the reservoir's record-setting trout, which thrive in the cool, deep waters. Still, there are drawbacks. The county lost much of its best arable land to reservoir waters in the Henry's Fork area while the recreation dollars promised by dam promoters proved largely seasonal, creating the potential for underemployment. Yet, despite shouldering the brunt of such ill effects, local residents see very little of the electricity and water supplied by the dam. Power is transmitted across a six-state area while water is often released from the dam to help drought areas downstream.[45] A Fort Collins entrepreneur has even proposed building a 500-mile pipeline to transport water from Flaming Gorge to Colorado's Front Range.[46] The environmental impacts of the dam have been controversial as well, as the cold waters that make the reservoir great for trout have proven detrimental to some native species below the dam.[47] Hashing out this complex legacy would be essential to any future examination of the Flaming Gorge Dam, though whether that legacy is good or bad may ultimately be a matter of perspective.

Lastly, the study of Daggett County's past should also include a nod to its architectural history. The National Register of Historic Places, a federal inventory of sites and structures deemed worthy for preservation, currently includes only five properties in Daggett County.[48] However, a number of buildings in the region are likely eligible for the list, were interested parties willing to engage with the nomination process. One candidate is the Summit Springs Guard Station, a 1931 Civilian Conservation Corps cabin located a couple of miles west of the Sheep Creek Geological Loop in the Ashley National Forest. Farther north, a number of structures associated with the Flaming Gorge Dam have now surpassed the fifty-year milestone required to be considered historic. Among them are the Flaming Gorge Reservoir Bridge, a soaring example of a steel through arch bridge that engineers erected along U.S. Highway 191 in 1962, and the Dutch John neighborhood built by the federal government in 1958 to support the construction and operation of the dam. Legislation privatized the homes in 1999, but enough remain intact to create a historic district that would serve as a striking example of the dam's influence on the local community.[49]

One hundred years after its founding, Daggett County remains Utah's newest and least-populated county, but its contribution to the state's history defies its young age and small population. Given its position between two prehistoric cultural areas, archaeologists and anthropologists have an opportunity to explore cultural and economic exchange across the region, while historic preservationists will find a trove of structures to enrich rural Utah's contribution to the nation's architectural inventory. The county's complicated history with federal lands will give historians a fertile case study through which to explore the context of current events, while past events related to tourism and reclamation will inform topics central to the development of the West. Given such ample and compelling research opportunities the region affords, the study of Daggett County promises to enlighten issues of the past and present on the local, state, and federal level.

Notes

1 United States Department of the Interior, Department of Reclamation, "Flaming Gorge Dam," accessed January 17, 2018, www.usbr.gov/projects/index.php?id=105.
2 United States Census Bureau, "American Factfinder," accessed January 17, 2018, factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml.
3 Michael W. Johnson, *A History of Daggett County: A Modern Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Daggett County Commission, 1998), 41, 54, 155.
4 *Vernal (UT) Express*, March 24, 1916.
5 *Myton (UT) Free Press*, April 19, 1917.
6 *Vernal (UT) Express*, March 2, 1907
7 Johnson, *History of Daggett County*, 156.
8 *Ogden Evening Standard*, March 8, 1913.
9 For a detailed exploration of Duchesne County's creation, see Craig Fuller, "Home Rule: The Struggle to Create Duchesne County and Its County Seat," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 77, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 67–90.
10 *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 13, 1917.
11 *Vernal (UT) Express*, May 11, 2017.
12 Johnson, *History of Daggett County*, 158.
13 *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 12, 1917.
14 Ibid.
15 *Sun* (Price, UT), October 12, 1917.
16 *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 30, 1917.
17 *Vernal (UT) Express*, January 4, 1918.
18 Utah Division of State History, "History Publications Home," last modified 2017, utahhistory.sdlhost.com/. The publications search includes *Antiquities Section Selected Papers*, *Beehive History*, *History Blazer*, *Utah Preservation*, *Utah Archaeology*, *Utah Centennial County History Series*, *Utah Historical Quarterly*, and *Utah Preservation/Restoration*.
19 See Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West* (1953; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982); Edward Dolnick, *Down the Great Unknown: John Wesley Powell's 1869 Journey of Discovery and Tragedy Through the Grand Canyon* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001); Donald Worster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
20 See Carolyn Toone, "Our Mountain Home: The Oscar and Emma Swett Ranch" (master's thesis, Utah State University, 2010); William L. Tennent, "John Jarvie of Brown's Park," Bureau of Land Management Cultural Resources Series, No. 7 (Utah: 1981); A. R. Standing, "Through the Uintas: History of the Carter Road," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (Summer 1967); Donald Weir Baxter, "The History of Public Education in Daggett County, Utah, and Adjacent Areas" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959).
21 Such accounts include the University of Utah's Jesse S. Hoy manuscript (Ms0011); Utah State Historical Society's Keith Smith recollections (MSS A 1790), Minnie Crouse Rassmussen interview (MSS A 2436 1-2), and "This is My History and about the People and Country" by Minerva Jane Swett Tidwell; and Utah State University's Swett Ranch oral histories (COLL MSS 283), oral histories and reminiscences in the Mike Johnson papers (COLL MSS 372), and "Never Marry a Rancher" by J. Kent Olson (920 OL8N).
22 "News and Comments," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 (Fall 1964): 407–8. The Smith and Larsen Mercantile

Company records (MSS B 86) and the South Valley Canal Company records (MSS B 132) are housed at the Utah State Historical Society in Salt Lake City.

23 Daggett County records, including commission minutes, assessor records, clerk/treasurer records, auditor/recorder records, court records, and others, can be accessed at the Daggett County Courthouse in Manila. Microfilmed copies of the Daggett County Commission minutes, 1918–1995 (Series 83793) and ordinances, 1985–1996 (Series 13141) are housed at the Utah State Archives in Salt Lake City.

24 Such accounts include the journals of the Powell expeditions, published in volumes 16 and 17 of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and the University of Utah's Ralf R. Woolley papers and photographs (Accn 1407 and P0563).

25 Western Area Power Administration, U.S. Department of Energy, *Salt Lake City Area Integrated Projects Electric Power Marketing: Final Environmental Impact Statement, Vol. 2*, January 1996, 3–96; La Mar W. Lindsay, *An Archaeological Survey of Clay Basin, Daggett County, Utah*, Bureau of Land Management Cultural Resource Series no. 12, June 1977.

26 Roy Webb, *Lost Canyons of the Green River* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2012), 113–17. The four documents are published in the University of Utah Department of Anthropology's *Anthropological Papers*, nos. 37, 45, 48, and 65.

27 For foundational literature on the social construction of place, see *The Archaeology of Meaningful Places*, eds. Brenda J. Bowser and Maria Nieves Zedeno (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009).

28 Thanks to Utah Deputy SHPO and Antiquities Section Coordinator Christopher W. Merritt for lending his expertise in the study of the state's pre-contact cultures.

29 Jan Elise Stambro, et al., *An Analysis of a Transfer of Federal Lands to the State of Utah* (Bureau of Economic and Business Research, 2014), 46.

30 Johnson, *History of Daggett County*, 145, 258.

31 See Gerald D. Nash, *The Federal Landscape: An Economic History of the Twentieth Century American West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999). Although the state legislature has over the years passed laws requiring the federal government to relinquish control of its public lands, nothing has come of these efforts. Most recently, the 2014 Transfer of Public Lands Act (H.B. 148) would "require the United States to extinguish title to public lands and transfer title to those public lands to the state" with the exception of national parks, wilderness areas, and selected national monuments. Because Daggett County's federal lands fall outside these classifications, the bill would result in the relinquishment of all the county's federal acreage to the state. See Stambro, et al., *An Analysis of a Transfer of Federal Lands*, 224.

32 Johnson, *History of Daggett County*, 145–46.

33 Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), 28–29.

34 "History of Lawrence Paul Biorn and Thelma Edginton Biorn," box 2, fd. 16, Michael S. Johnson Papers, COLL MSS 372, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah (hereafter USUSCA).

35 Mary Elizabeth Swett Arrowsmith interviewed by Eric Swedin, September 15, 1989, box 1, fd. 1, Swett Ranch oral histories, COLL MSS 283, USUSCA.

36 "History of Lawrence Paul Biorn and Thelma Edginton Biorn," box 2, fd. 16, Johnson Papers. The William D. Hurst papers at Utah State University Special Collections and Archives (COLL MSS 362) contain daybooks Hurst kept while working as District Ranger at the Manila Ranger District from 1942 to 1945.

37 Kem C. Gardner Policy Institute, *Utah Travel and Tourism Profile: State and Counties, 2015–2016* (University of Utah, July 2017), accessed January 17, 2018, travel.utah.gov/wp-content/uploads/County-Tourism-Profiles-2016-1.pdf.

38 Mountain Area Planners, "Daggett County, Utah: Economic Profile with Employment and Population Projections," June 1972.

39 See Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998).

40 U.S. Forest Service, *Visitor Use Report: Ashley National Forest, USDA Forest Service Region 4, National Visitor Use Monitoring, Data Collected FY 2012* (December 16, 2016), apps.fs.usda.gov/nfs/nrm/nvum/results/ReportCache/2012_A04001_Master_Report.pdf.

41 The Utah State Historical Society has a couple of excellent collections related to the CCC in Daggett County, including copies of the Manila Camp's *Pinion-O-Pinion* newspaper (MSS A 2050) and the Andrew Golarz photograph collection (MSS C 1645, box 1).

42 Johnson, *History of Daggett County*, 197–215.

43 See Mark W. T. Harvey, *A Symbol of Wilderness: Echo Park and the American Conservation Movement* (1994; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011); Jon M. Cosco, *Echo Park: The Struggle for Preservation* (Boulder, CO: Johnson Books, 1995); Russell Martin, *A Story that Stands Like a Dam: Glen Canyon and the Struggle for the Soul of the West* (1989; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2017); Jared Farmer, *Glen Canyon Dammed: Inventing Lake Powell and the Canyon Country* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999).

44 J. Kent Olsen, *Never Marry a Rancher* (Hiller Industries, 1979), 101.

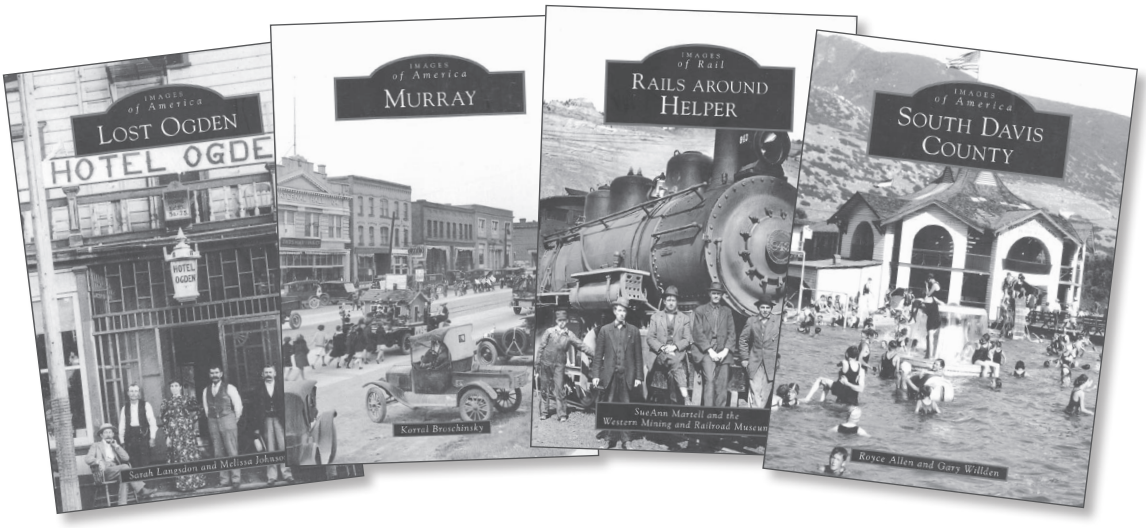
45 United States Department of the Interior, Department of Reclamation, "Flaming Gorge Dam," accessed January 17, 2018, usbr.gov/projects/index.php?id=105.

46 Ben Neary, "Wyoming State Engineer Rejects Permits for Pipeline to Draw from Green River for Colorado," *Star Tribune* (Casper, WY), June 8, 2015.

47 For a full analysis of the environmental impacts of the Flaming Gorge Dam, see United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, *Operation of Flaming Gorge Dam: Final Environmental Impact Statement*, September 2005.

48 John Jarvie Ranch Historic District, Dr. John Parsons Cabin Complex, Manila Petroglyphs, Swett Ranch, and Ute Mountain Fire Tower.

49 *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 19, 1999.



Selected titles in Utah history by Arcadia Publishing. Since 1993 the publishing house has provided an outlet for local historians to publish works on their communities and the history they know best.

"MAKE ME AN AUTHOR:" ARCADIA PUBLISHING AND THE IMAGES OF AMERICA SERIES—A CRITIQUE OF SELECTED UTAH TITLES

By Noel A. Carmack

The success of the longstanding book series, Images of America by Arcadia Publishers, has reached a zenith. The books in the series—easily identified by the striking sepia-toned photographs that adorn their covers—are often available in local bookstores, gift shops, museums, and information centers. Each book is typically 128 pages in length and profusely illustrated with meaningfully chosen, historical photographs of the people and places in the locale it covers. With this and succeeding series, Arcadia has filled a growing demand in the marketplace. Founded in Dover, New Hampshire, in 1993, the publishing house capitalized on the public's unfolding interest in genealogical research and scrapbooking. Arcadia and its affiliate company, the History Press, now claim to be "the largest and most comprehensive publishers of local and regional books in the United States with a library of more than 12,000 titles."[1]

What is the reason for the series' success? Besides its eye-catching cover designs, the Images of America series is an opportunity for would-be local authors to have their work published by a major press. As the title of the website's proposal submission page adjures, "Make Me an Author" emboldens the person who submits. Indeed, Arcadia offers local historians, archivists, and storytellers a chance to share their research and knowledge of community characters, places, and events. "By empowering history and culture enthusiasts to write local stories for local audiences, we create exceptional books that are relevant on a local and personal level, enrich lives, and bring readers closer—to their community, their neighbors, and their past," the website proclaims.[2]

Another factor in the success of Arcadia Publishing and its book series is the growing

popularity of family research and photo archiving and scrapbooking. A general enthusiasm for internet searching, collaboration, and digital-file sharing bodes well for those who love to collect or disseminate historical photographs.[3] For example, a 2013 study on the popularity of genealogy concluded that although an estimated 2.9 million people (in the English-speaking world) currently conduct ancestral research, more that 7.9 million *Americans* have done (or have a need to do) genealogical research—far more than any other English-speaking people. The study also estimated that the field of genealogy grew 20 percent from 2012 to 2013, and daily traffic to all genealogy websites averaged some 300,000 visitors a day at the beginning of 2013.[4] The largest of these websites, Ancestry.com and MyHeritage.com, both have corporate offices in Lehi, Utah.

This rise in the popularity of genealogical research was also reflected in Arcadia's book sales. In 2004, after ten years of steady growth, Arcadia Publishing was on target to reach a 27 percent increase in sales.[5] At that time, the typical first-year sales for an Arcadia book was between 1,200 and 1,800 copies. Encountering the same demand, the History Press—an independent publisher based in Charleston, South Carolina—reported "a brisk business in titles designed specifically for local markets." The History Press began modestly with only twenty books in its inaugural year of 2004, but by 2011 the company was on track to add 325 new titles to its 1,200 titles backlist.[6] When Arcadia bought the History Press in July 2014, it brought together the two largest presses with local or regional content, creating a market giant with 12,000 backlist titles.[7] The merger joined Arcadia's 9,000 titles, which drew on pictures and other archival material to tell the story of featured communities, with the History Press's 3,000 titles, which are text-based monographs on regional topics and events.[8]

Since Arcadia's titles are heavily illustrated, the company's administrators were cautious about moving them into digital format. This reticence to expand the press's marketing reach with new technologies was quickly overcome, however. In a partnership with Google, Arcadia Publishing began providing historical photos and trivia to users in a travel app called Field Trip. Google then incorporated the app to their Google Glass wearable headset, to add an informative historical dimension to the product.[9] In 2009, a new internet research tool—a partnership between Alexander Street (a ProQuest company) and Arcadia Publishing—was created under the title *Images of America: A History of American Life in Images and Texts*. The collection is promoted as "an essential tool for genealogical research, broadly supplementing raw facts with actual images of the towns, factories, schools, churches, and people that shaped a family's history." The collection, available through an annual subscription or a one-time purchase, includes 5,000 individual volumes, with 650,000 pages and more than a million images intended to serve a variety of research interests, including sports history, recreation, architecture, race and gender, labor and organizational history, war, and religion.[10] In a 2014 interview with *Publisher's Weekly*, Arcadia CEO Richard Joseph reported that, although only about 4,000 of its titles were then available as e-books, the company had a solid start that year and was on track to release about 615 new books. Nearly all of History Press's titles were already sold as e-books, but the marketing director P. J. Norlander said that "as the technology improves, Arcadia will continue to make more titles available as e-books."[11]

Arcadia's emergence into regional and local history fills a niche in a steadily growing market—most especially for Utah communities and their history and genealogy enthusiasts. Although many Utah communities are not yet represented in the series, the titles that have been published include locations in the northern, central, and southern regions of the state. As of the writing of this essay, twenty-nine Images of America titles feature Utah communities or historic areas.

Using vintage postcards and historical photographs from local and private collections, the Images of the America series calls attention to Utah's many noteworthy communities and regions. For example, SueAnn Martell, a local historian and former curator of the Western Mining and Railroad Museum, took on the rich and colorful history of Helper, a mining and railroad town at the outlet of Price Canyon. The book, entitled *Rails Around Helper* (2007), sheds light on the rail yards, crews, mainlines, and spur lines of the area. Martell's illuminating selection of photographs includes images of the Greek

Using vintage postcards and historical photographs from local and private collections, the Images of the America series calls attention to Utah's many noteworthy communities and regions.

and Italian immigrants who were employed by the railroad companies; views of the Helper and Castle Gate depots, hopper cars, railyards; and engine houses used by the Utah Railway Company, the Pleasant Valley Railroad, and the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad. Images of main street storefronts, businesses, and even specific locomotive engines that passed through Helper provide context for the small junction town. Images of the nearby railway towns of Tucker and Soldier Summit document the sometimes-harsh conditions endured by crews and their families living there as well.[12]

In addition to her Helper volume, Martell researched and compiled (with the support of the WM&R Museum) another photographic history, entitled *Coal Camps of Eastern Utah* (2008). This thematic volume covers the mining towns and coal camps in Carbon and Emery counties—many of which have completely disappeared or are ghost towns—including (but not limited to) Castle Gate, Kenilworth, Winter Quarters, Consumers, Scofield, Spring Canyon, Sunnyside, and the Royal and Bear Canyon Camps. Martell's selection of photographs is particularly good. She chose many of the photographs from the museum collections, but also chose some from her own personal collection. Detailed captions describe views of immigrant workers, storefronts, rail cars, mine buildings, churches, schools, business owners, and, of course, miners. Many views and group photographs are by the noted Springville photographer, George Edward Anderson.

An illustrative volume by local historians Norma R. Dalton and Alene Dalton, *Nine Mile Canyon* (2014), highlights nineteenth- and early twentieth-century settlement and modern tourism of the petroglyph-adorned canyon that spans Carbon and Duchesne counties. In addition to images of early Nine Mile Canyon ranch families—including the Johnstuns, Housekeepers, and Riches—the volume includes captioned photographs of homesteads and families that lived in adjoining Soldier Creek Canyon, Argyle Canyon, and Gate Canyon.

Another early volume in the series that covers a geographical area in south central Utah is *The San Rafael Swell* (2008) by Dottie Grimes, archivist at the Emery County Archives. Beginning with the geological features in the swell, Grimes includes photographs of natural arches, slot canyons, hoodoos, and the prominent rock formations. The other chapters cover the settlers, cattlemen, and outlaws who occupied the area. Photos document early settler Thaddeus Hambrick, the Swasey brothers and their spouses, and Robbers Roost bandits Matt Warner, Butch Cassidy, and Cassidy's sidekick, William "Elzy" Lay. This informative volume is complete with images of prominent ranchers, important men and women, landmarks, and the rigs, mine openings, storefronts, and churches that dotted the area.[13]

Other volumes in the series that cover cities/communities on the Wasatch Front include John Sillito and Sarah Langsdon's *Ogden* (2008), Gary Topping and Melissa Coy Ferguson's *Salt Lake City, 1890–1930* (2009), Allen Dale Roberts's *Salt Lake City's Historic Architecture* (2012), Royce Allen and Gary Willden's *South Davis County* (2014), Sarah Langsdon and Melissa Johnson's *Lost Ogden* (2015), April Clawson and Kjirstin Youngberg's *Mapleton* (2015), and Korral Broschinsky's *Murray* (2015). Two volumes covering communities in Utah County—Marilyn Brown and Valerie Holiday's *Provo* (2011) and *Orem* (2010) by Jay H. Buckley, Chase Arnold, and the Orem Public

Library—address settlement, farming, historic sites, and the founding of Brigham Young University.[14] The images in these books focus not only on early settlement and local lore but also on economic transition, crime, transportation, architecture, and urbanization. Although some photographs of significant buildings seem redundant, they document the changing faces of downtown and residential districts.[15] A volume of topical interest, *The Pony Express in Utah* (2015) by Patrick Hearty and Joseph Hatch, features early photos of riders, wagon trains, company officials, and way stations.[16]

With each volume consisting of over two hundred black and white images and accompanying captions, the publishers boast that "Arcadia books animate the cherished memories, people, places, and events that define a community. From the iconic Images of America series and Images of Aviation series to Postcard Histories and so many more, these richly illustrated histories bring to life small town America."[17] As well as a yearning for nostalgia, the series serves an inherent human need to understand ourselves and our surroundings. The images provide a kaleidoscope through which a reader can visualize the important kinships and socioeconomic layers of the communities they seek to document. The carefully chosen images can also convey a sense of place that words cannot always express or describe. Thus, historians in other states are beginning to recognize the proliferation of Arcadia's Images of America series and the influence each book has on local and regional histories.[18]

The $21.99 retail price for each book is the result of some practical but onerous content and design parameters placed upon the contracted authors. Despite the publishing opportunity, they do not receive an advance, and they bear the burden of reproduction costs and research expenses. Authors also follow strict formatting guidelines that help maintain the uniformity of the series. They are given layout examples, blocked grids, photo resolution requirements, and per-page text parameters. Although it is an easy-to-follow format, authors find that they must continually pare down their text in order to fit within the page-count and grid requirements.

In general, the Images of America series is a tremendously useful—if not wholly authoritative—resource. The books in the series not only provide readers with images as historical, evidentiary artifacts, but the images themselves are often accompanied by detailed captions that furnish insightful context. For all their usefulness, though, readers should approach each volume with attentiveness by checking the accuracy of the information provided for each image. Image captions do not always offer photo credits or source abbreviations. The authors are highly respected and knowledgeable on the local lore and history, but the volumes rarely, if ever, provide a bibliography or suggested readings. So readers should always verify and corroborate the names, dates, and places described in the captions. All told, the volumes serve as carefully selected visual anthologies and starting points for further scholarship and investigation.

As well as a yearning for nostalgia, the series serves an inherent human need to understand ourselves and our surroundings.

Notes

1 Website Profile, "Our Story," accessed April 17, 2017, arcadiapublishing.com/About/OurStory.
2 Ibid.
3 Lisa A. Alzo, "The Future of Genealogy," *Family Chronicle* 13 (May/June 2009): 22–26. See also Neal Ungerleider, "Ancestors, Inc.: Inside the Remarkable Rise of the Genealogy Industry," *Fast Company*, July 15, 2015, accessed May 24, 2017, fastcompany.com/3048513/ancestors-inc-inside-the-remarkable-rise-of-the-genealogy-industry.
4 "How Popular is Genealogy?" *GenealogyInTime Magazine*, December 2013, 1–6, accessed May 24, 2017, genealogyintime.com/articles/how-popular-is-genealogy-page01.html.
5 Jim Milliot, "Arcadia Publishing Adopts National View," *Publisher's Weekly*, August 9, 2004, 115.
6 Marc Shultz, "Prolific: History Press Marches On," *Publisher's Weekly*, October 10, 2011, 7–8.
7 "Arcadia Buys the History Press," *Publisher's Weekly*, July 14, 2014, 18.

8 "Arcadia Publishing Buys History Press," *Publisher's Weekly* (web version), July 9, 2014, April 17, 2017, publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/industry-news/industry-deals/article/63244-arcadia-publishing-buys-the-history-press.html.

9 Claire Kirch, "BEA 2014: A More Colorful Arcadia," *Publisher's Weekly* (web version), May 30, 2014, accessed May 4, 2017, publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/industry-news/bea/article/62449-bea-2014-a-more-colorful-arcadia.html.

10 "Alexander Street and Arcadia Publishing Launch Local History Collection Containing Hundreds of Thousands of Images and Texts," *News & Press Releases*, June 23, 2009, accessed June 9, 2017, alexanderstreet.com/content/alexander-street-and-arcadia-publishing-launch-local-history-collection-containing-hundreds.

11 "Arcadia Publishing Buys History Press," *Publisher's Weekly* (web version), July 9, 2014.

12 "Local Author Publishes Book on Helper," *Sun Advocate* (Price, UT), October 25, 2007.

13 "New Book on San Rafael," *Emery County Progress*, May 18, 2008.

14 Connie Lewis, "'Salt Lake City's Historic Architecture' Takes Delightful Stroll through City," *Deseret News*, September 1, 2012, and Reva Bowen, "BYU History Professor Writes Orem History Book," *Provo Daily Herald*, June 16, 2010.

15 See Carma Wadley, "Snapshots in Time: 'Images of America' Chronicles Salt Lake City's Coming of Age," *Deseret News*, July 21, 2009, C1.

16 Christine Rappleye, "Authors Share Photos and History of Where Pony Express Crossed Utah," *Deseret News*, May 28, 2015.

17 Website Profile, "Arcadia Publishing," accessed April 17, 2017, arcadiapublishing.com/arcadia-publishing-books.

18 On the impact of Arcadia's Images of America series on local and regional history, see Mark Rice, "Arcadian Visions of the Past," *Columbia Journal of American Studies* 9 (Fall 2009): 7–26. For additional reviews of the series, see Phoebe Cutler, "Arcadia Publishing Wants You!" *Eden: Journal of the California Garden and Landscape History Society* (Winter 2006): 14–16; Patrick J. Furlong, "Et in Arcadia: The Growing Market for Local History," *Indiana Magazine of History* 102 (June 2006): 141–44; Paul K. Tenkotte, "The Blossoming of Regional History and the Role of Arcadia Publishing," *Ohio Valley History* (Summer 2007): 85–91; Joe Pratt, "Arcadia Publishing Books on Houston," *Houston History* 8 (Fall 2010): 43–44; "Two More Good Books on Houston Topics from Arcadia Publishing," *Houston History* 8 (Summer 2011): 45–49; and Rudolf Schmid, "Arcadia Publishing, the Premier American Publisher of Local Histories," *Taxon* 61 (August 2012): 917–18.

Whither the Waters: Mapping the Great Basin from Bernardo de Miera to John C. Frémont.

By John L. Kessell.

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017. xiv + 102 pp. Paper, $29.95.

Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco (1713–1785) was a true Renaissance man of New Spain's northern frontier: soldier, explorer, public servant, artist, and, perhaps most important, cartographer. In *Whither the Waters,* New Mexico historian and Miera biographer John Kessell shows us exactly how Miera's map of the 1776–1777 Domínguez-Escalante expedition across present-day Colorado, Utah, and Arizona shaped later American exploration and cartography of the Interior West. Miera is, quite simply, a long-overlooked godfather of western cartography.

Miera's influence was double-edged. The Domínguez-Escalante expedition failed in its goal to find a northern route from New Mexico to California (indeed, had the expedition listened to Miera's advice to keep pressing west, they may have faced a fate like that of the Donner Party in the Sierra Nevada Mountains). Although his map was copied at least four times and circulated throughout the Spanish Empire, it did not open a great new era of Spanish exploration or expansion. However, later cartographers such as Williams Clark and Alexander von Humboldt did use Miera's map to piece together their own visions of the American West, which in turn influenced an entire generation of Anglo-American explorers, trappers, and settlers.

This book, which includes detailed insets of Miera's maps as well as extensive translations, shows us how this man captured the complexity of the Great Basin and Colorado Plateau as never before. But his geography also reinforced false geographical myths, most notably with his inclusion of an imaginary river that flowed across the Great American Desert to California. This Río de San Buenaventura, cobbled together from the courses of the Green, Sevier, and much later, the Humboldt River, circulated through the visions of many later explorers and mapmakers. It would have achieved Domínguez and Escalante's goal of finding an easy route between New Mexico and Monterey, confirmed the hopes of Jefferson, Lewis, and Clark for a transcontinental waterway, and given later nineteenth-century trappers and overlanders a quick passage across the Great Basin. Indeed, although Kessell does not carry his thesis so far, we may even see Miera's imaginary river as a final echo of Columbus's hopes for a western water route between Europe and Asia. Miera may very well have killed the old myth of the Northwest Passage across Canada, but he left hope of a continent-spanning waterway very much alive.

In his preface, Kessell states that upon beginning this project, he was not aware to what degree Miera's map influenced later cartographers of the region. This seems a bit disingenuous. The myth of a nonexistent river flowing to California makes an appearance in most broad histories of nineteenth-century trapping and exploration in the American West. Dale Morgan specifically mentioned Miera's errors in his history of a real river, *The Humboldt: Highroad of the West*. Nor does Kessell seem particularly concerned with why Miera would have made the mistakes that he did in his map, or how earlier geographical theorists of northern New Spain had their own ideas about imaginary rivers flowing west to the Pacific. Much of his geographical vision falls into a common misconception that John Logan Allen has called "Pyramidal Height of Land": the idea that all rivers in the American West simply had to flow to some sort of ocean.

This book will be essential reading for anyone interested in the geographical or cartographi-

cal history of the American West. In terms of geographical analysis and history, it complements well works such as Richard Francaviglia's *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin*. This book is also an indispensable supplement to Kessell's recent biography *Miera y Pacheco: A Renaissance Spaniard in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico*. Perhaps most of all, it is quite enjoyable simply to browse through as a "coffee table" book. Geographers, ethnologists, regional historians, and environmental historians will easily lose themselves for hours in the details of Miera's artwork depicting familiar mesas, villages, rivers, and lakes of the Interior West.

Whither the Waters is a beautiful work. It fills a gap in the cartographic history of Utah and the American West, of which historians have likely been unaware, and further sheds light on the oft-overlooked role of Spanish exploration in the region.

— Paul Nelson
Fayetteville, West Virginia

From California's Gold Fields to the Mendocino Coast: A Settlement History Across Time and Place.

By Samuel M. Otterstrom.

Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2017. v + 208 pp. Hardcover, $44.95.

Samuel Otterstrom has written a geographic history of the settlement of northern California that focuses on the period from approximately 1840 to 1900. Central to Otterstrom's analysis is what he terms his "multiscalar perspective." Otterstrom argues that four dimensions—geography, time, family, and scale—can be woven together to understand settlement patterns in the region in a more cohesive fashion than previous analytical frameworks have provided.

After laying out Otterstrom's multiscalar perspective in the first chapter, *California's Gold Fields* gives a quick overview of early European exploration and settlement in California. From there, the book moves into an examination of the northern gold fields, the mobility and settlement patterns of immigrants as tracked through family connections, and an overall decline in transience and mobility over time. After a chapter examining why some towns and settlements persisted over time and others faded away, Otterstrom moves into two of his strongest chapters: the ninth, on how successive developments spurred growth in the relatively inaccessible Lake County north of San Francisco Bay, and the tenth, which compares the settlement and development of Lake, Sonoma, and Mendocino counties. Finally, Otterstrom ends with a discussion of San Francisco's domination of northern California's peripheral rural hinterlands.

This is an ambitious work. Indeed, it seeks the "Holy Grail" of historical geography: to create a holistic, comprehensive account of human settlement that functions on multiple levels simultaneously. To attempt to do so in such a short work could be called audacious. Unfortunately, at its core, the book does not hang together that well. It tries to do so much in such a small space that the attempts by Otterstrom to stitch the chapters together into a unified whole feel forced and inadequate. Part of the problem is the title, which does not give the reader a clear indication of the scope, limits, or focus of the work. Indeed, the focus shifts throughout the book between locations, scales of analysis, and even analytical frameworks. Without some sort of center to the book—perhaps a group of people or a particular region—the jumps necessitated by the multiscalar approach leave the reader disorientated.

Specialists in the field will also note surprising gaps in the secondary literature with which this work engages. Works such as D. W. Meinig's *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History* or William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* both could have informed key sections of *California's Gold Fields*. Likewise, Brian Roberts' *American Alchemy: The California Gold Rush and Middle-Class Culture* would cast light on the population of the counties and, in particular, the motivations of the settlers. Overall, this work could have engaged more strongly with the voluminous literature produced on California since the year 2000.

But while the book as a whole has some difficulties, some of its parts are deeply informative

and original. Readers interested in the history of Mormons in California are rewarded with a chapter on Mormon settlers and other scattered references throughout. The sections dealing with the settlement of Lake, Sonoma, and Mendocino counties are extremely compelling and suggestive of the potential of this work.

Some of the insights of the book, such as the idea that the chaotic and highly mobile Gold Rush gave way to a more settled and stable population just within a few short years, have long been known to specialists in California history. However, Otterstrom has done the work to actually quantify this transformation, describing a process in which each successive generation became more rooted in place. In so doing, *California's Gold Fields* makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of California settlement.

Overall, this book will be of interest to specialists on the settlement of California and to those with specific interests in particular counties or Mormon settlement. Otterstrom's multiscalar framework is thought-provoking, and, while it does not quite work in this book, students of historical geography would be well-advised to pay attention to it. It is suggestive of an approach that could illuminate settlement pattern in other locations, including Utah. Unfortunately, the more casual student of California history will likely not find this work particularly accessible or engaging.

— Christopher Herbert

Columbia Basin College

Sweet Freedom's Plains: African Americans on the Overland Trails, 1841–1869.

By Shirley Ann Wilson Moore.

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. Map, illustrations, xv + 368 pp. Cloth, $29.95.

In *Sweet Freedom's Plains*, Shirley Ann Wilson Moore set out to recover the lives of black women and men as western pioneers and to place them "firmly within the story of western expansion and settlement" (4). It is an objective that she accomplishes with skill even as she complicates our understanding of race and manifest destiny in the process. African Americans were central actors, not shadowy stagehands, in the drama of claiming a western empire. At the same time, blacks in the American West forced their white counterparts—and by extension, the young republic as a whole—to grapple with the core of its identity and attempt to make foundational principles of liberty and equality meaningful in their lives.

Moore thoroughly read the published scholarship on African-American westerners to craft her study. She supplemented secondary sources with oral interviews from descendants of black pioneers. For contemporary accounts, she was principally reliant on the comments of white migrants who kept journals or diaries and happened to mention black members of their wagon trains. While such sources are problematic, Moore uses them to her advantage to reveal black "agency, capability, and purpose" (14). What emerges is a comprehensive synthesis of all aspects of the black westering experience.

Moore's vision of the roles that black people played in America's westward movement is expansive. The bulk of her study is focused on the period between 1841 and completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Even still, she devotes a chapter to the early black presence in the American West, a group that includes the mountain men James Pierson Beckwourth and Moses "Black" Harris as well as other less well-known adventurers such as Edward Rose, Peter Ranne, and Polette Labross. She delves into the complicated patchwork of laws in the American West regarding slavery and race in the Antebellum era before she examines the experiences of black women and men in the migration process itself. Here too she is not merely interested in black people who migrated west via different trails but also in the roles of African Americans in outfitting and supplying migrants at the various "jumping-off places." It is a holistic vision of the westering experience and one in which Moore skillfully weaves black pioneers into its very fabric.

Rather than treat the Mormon Trail and the Utah experience as an anomaly or neglect it altogether, Moore integrates it into her story and

gives it equal attention alongside the Oregon and California trails. Students of race and Mormonism will not find anything new here. She largely relies on available secondary sources for her assessment of the black experience in Utah. Her interpretation of the Utah territorial legislature's 1852 "servant" code is reliant on dated scholarship. Her claim that "Utah became the only western territory where black slavery and slave sales were safeguarded by territorial statute" is curious given the fact that New Mexico's 1859 law was patterned after chattel slave codes passed in the South, while Utah's code was modeled after northern gradual emancipation laws (45). Even still, Moore does an admirable job of integrating into her narrative black Utah pioneers such as Green and Martha Flake, Oscar Crosby, Hark Lay, Jane Manning James, and Marinda and Alexander Bankhead.

Moore is at her best when she evaluates the expectations of black pioneers against the realities they encountered on the ground. She assesses the unevenness of the American West as a place of promised freedom for black pioneers, many of whom experienced racial discrimination on the trail and at trail's end. Like their white counterparts, black migrants were "filled with imagined possibilities" about the opportunities that the region had to offer, but more often than not, black westerners had to fight legal and social prejudice in order to realize those possibilities in their lives (228). Some of them, like Biddy Mason, were successful at challenging the racial status quo and in finding upward economic mobility, while others, like Charles and Nancy Alexander, were not so fortunate. After experiencing racial discrimination in California, the Alexanders migrated to Canada in search of promised freedom. Moore navigates the various outcomes with nuance and provides a measured understanding of the lives of her subjects, including their expectations and their realities. Students of western migration, slavery, race, and the overland trails will find plenty to contemplate in this volume.

— W. Paul Reeve
University of Utah

Fighting in Canyon Country: Native American Conflict, 500 AD to the 1920s.

By Robert S. McPherson.

Indianapolis: Dog Ear Publishing, 2016. iv + 258 pp. Paper, $20.00.

Fighting in Canyon Country is set in the arid terrain of the Four Corners region, a harsh but beautiful land of deserts, mountains, bluffs, plateaus, steep-walled canyons, ravines, and washes. In this book, Robert S. McPherson briefly and skillfully provides an understanding of the little-studied conflicts that took place in this oft-forgotten expanse. Starting with Anasazi, Navajo, and Numic clashes, McPherson finishes with the Posey War of 1923, the last Indian War in the United States. McPherson offers a narrative that is rational, well-detailed, and supported by a blend of historical documents, journals, military records, and Native American sources. He details weaponry, tactics, training, results, and the impacts of warfare in the American West.

McPherson's most significant contribution is the understanding he brings to the Navajo and Ute wars that largely began when the Spanish arrived in the Southwest. The author argues that the military's defeat and forced relocation of the Navajo people—an event infamously known as the Long Walk—was the result of decades of conflict between the tribes. McPherson details how Navajo families endured months of Ute raids. When threatened, the Diné typically responded by retreating into a labyrinth of canyons and hidden places, but the Utes continuously routed the Navajo from even their most obscure hideouts. The military victory over the Navajo largely occurred because the United States military allowed the Utes to conduct these intense raids. This resulted in the Utes gaining thousands of horses, cattle, and sheep. More than three thousand Navajo women were sold into servitude in Mexican households, and thousands of Navajos died. Ultimately, McPherson shows how the Navajo suffered a devastating cultural and military defeat.

McPherson also describes how, in the decades after the defeat of the Navajo, Ute wars

occurred in areas as widespread as Ignacio, Bears Ears, and Moab. Initially, such conflicts started over white encroachment of land used for mining, grazing, and timber production. The Utes avoided large-scale warfare by using ambushes and raids and fleeing when the numbers or terrain prevailed against them. In these later conflicts, several factions existed, each with its own interests and with varying degrees of animosity toward each other. Utes, Paiutes, Navajos, Mormons, ranchers, grazers, cowboys, traders, settlers, and military officers all held strong opinions of how events should proceed. McPherson successfully balances the viewpoints of these various groups in his narrative. Overall, this reviewer enthusiastically recommends this book to all levels of interested readers.

— John D. Barton
Utah State University

American Universities and the Birth of Modern Mormonism, 1867–1940.

By Thomas W. Simpson.

Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. xi + 215 pp. Paper, $29.95.

American Universities and the Birth of Modern Mormonism furthers historical scholarship on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by contextualizing the ongoing struggle between the idea of intellectual investigation and the reality of religious orthodoxy. Simpson situates his work in the context of Mormon political efforts to build a nation-state in the Great Basin and the evolution of Mormon religious organization and practices. Moving beyond "simple categories of resistance, accommodation, and assimilation," his work places education at the core of Mormonism's modernization (4). In my study of the University of Deseret/Utah, I have not encountered works that approach this type of study, argument, or line of inquiry.

The book shows that education served as a catalytic influence on LDS church members and leaders throughout the Utah War, Utah's quest for statehood, and the turn of the twentieth century. Simpson shows through primary accounts of students a rare glimpse into the social and personal history of the power of education. For example, Ellis Reynolds Shipp's statement from her diary that "*All truth*, all knowledge is of God . . . there is no danger of becoming too wise" eventually came to clash with views of church leaders (21). Simpson indicates that Shipp's education came at a time when she felt her life useless and unaccomplished; this point suggests the subtle influence higher education could have on an individual and, more broadly, within a community.

Simpson keeps the student experiences grounded by combining them with organizational and institutional accounts. He focuses on the ways in which early LDS church leaders sought to achieve their religious goals by using rhetoric that pitted Mormons against the United States. In the chapter "Evolution and Its Discontents, 1896–1920," Simpson details the tipping point that led to the emergence of modern Mormonism, showing how church leaders created new ways of defining themselves once Utah had attained statehood. This identity struggle remains one of the most fascinating topics of Mormon history—what Simpson calls a "distinctive dialectic of secrecy and self-disclosure"—and one that I wished Simpson said more about (1). Simpson tends to describe American institutions of higher learning as generally nonsectarian and liberal-minded, which may not always be the case, but the aim of his book is to demonstrate changes within Mormonism as a result of education. Overall, Simpson achieves this goal with his work.

— Allyson Mower
University of Utah

Jersey Gold: The Newark Overland Company's Trek to California, 1849.

By Margaret Casterline Bowen and Gwendolyn Joslin Hills.

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. xv + 368 pp. Cloth, $34.95.

Margaret Casterline Bowen and Gwendolyn Joslin Hills chronicle the journey of New Jersey immigrants hoping to strike it rich in the 1849 California gold mines. Focusing on a company led by John S. Darcy—leader of the New Jersey Railroad and prominent member of the travelers' home community—the authors trace the various routes members took west. Bowen and Hills use a plethora of sources generated by the immigrants themselves, a strategy that they supplement with visual aids like charts and hand-drawn images. These sources reinforce the authors' aim of detailing the multiple routes settlers could take to the Pacific.

Rather than simply describing the move westward, Bowen and Hills also focus on the array of options facing settlers in California. Some members of Darcy's company opted for temporary gold mining work, but others became more permanent players in California's pre-statehood history. The authors particularly use individual immigrant stories to tie into larger issues facing the region—including slavery and racial tension. Overall, *Jersey Gold* offers a snapshot of a community experiencing the day-to-day trials of the westward trail and the California gold mines.

On the Way to Somewhere Else: European Sojourners in the Mormon West, 1834–1930.

By Michael W. Homer.

2006; repr., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. 420 pp. Paper, $24.95.

Michael W. Homer's *On the Way to Somewhere Else* provides a fresh perspective on Mormon settlers through the eyes of people unlike themselves. Homer collects a series of primary documents that report on European travelers' observations of Mormons in the new religion's first hundred years. Originally published in 2006, this document collection gets a reprint and an updated cover with the new 2017 edition.

Although the collected documents cover a wide range of topics, Homer emphasizes the near-constant presence of Brigham Young and his overshadowing influence over the Mormon people. According to Homer, Young's autocratic rule fascinated Europeans. Similarly, Homer curates documents that trace Utah's early history as a whole, showing how the territory physically and culturally developed with Mormon settlement. Ultimately, *On the Way to Somewhere Else* provides a first-hand glimpse into the lives of early Mormons through the perspectives of European visitors.

THE *UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*

EDITORIAL FELLOWSHIP

The Utah State Historical Society, the Department of History at University of Utah, and the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University are delighted to announce the continuation of the graduate student fellowship at *Utah Historical Quarterly*. The fellow is appointed each academic year, rotating between the Thomas G. Alexander Editorial Fellow and the Miriam B. Murphy Editorial Fellow, named after two individuals who made a substantial contribution to the Utah State Historical Society and the study of Utah history.

2017–2018 Miriam B. Murphy Editorial Fellow: Alexandria Waltz-Chambers

Alexandria Waltz-Chambers is currently working on her PhD at the University of Utah. Her dissertation focuses on teenage subcultures in Orange County during the 1970s and 1980s. She has been awarded multiple fellowships, including the University of Utah's Maybelle Burton Graduate Fellowship and the Phi Kappa Phi National Fellowship. She works in marketing for the Ken Garff Automotive Group and teaches U.S. history and Latin American history at Westminster College and Salt Lake Community College.

Miriam Murphy (1933–2013)

Miriam B. Murphy, affectionately called Mims by some of her colleagues at the Utah State Historical Society, was a longtime associate editor of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* beginning with her hiring as associate editor in spring 1971 to her retirement in fall 1997. Following her retirement, Murphy was appointed to the Advisory Board of Editors where she served until 2000. The Board of State History honored Miriam as an Honorary Life Member in 2007 for her twenty-six years of distinguished work. More recently, *UHQ* editors have honored Miriam as a namesake of a new editorial fellowship to assist in publication of the journal. The recognition is in appreciation for the substantial contribution she made to the Utah State Historical Society and the study of Utah history.

Miriam B. Murphy (left) with fellow editors of the *Utah Daily Chronicle* and *The Pen* at the University of Utah.

Miriam attended the University of Utah where she majored in English. During the 1954–1955 academic year she served as associate editor of the university's *Daily Utah Chronicle* before being named Editor-in-Chief the following academic year. Her academic major and editorial work on the *Chronicle* served her well as the associate editor of *UHQ*.

At the Utah State Historical Society, Miriam performed a wide range of editorial functions. She sized photographs and other illustrated materials. Each year she meticulously prepared the index and table of contents for each journal volume long before the capability of digital word searches. Working with Stanford Layton, managing editor, she proofread each issue of *UHQ*, reading each word aloud and checking for errors.

Among other assignments as associate editor, Miriam managed a biannual newsletter that the Utah State Historical Society mailed to each of its members, as well as to numerous public and academic libraries and historical organizations. The society launched *Beehive History,* an annual publication containing short essays written by academic and amateur historians, in 1975, and for most of the publication's twenty-seven years Miriam served as its editor. *Beehive History*'s purpose was to introduce the young Utah reader to brief, highly readable essays on history, but the publication also piqued the interest of many adult subscribers to *UHQ*. Miriam encouraged authors to write articles, wrote many herself, and edited previously published essays and articles by former contributors to *UHQ*. Among those that she edited or wrote were "The Work of John A. Widtsoe," "This Natural Clock Tells Time in Centuries," "Tombstones: Working of Art and Historic Records," "Making your own Soap," "The Black Baseball Heroes of '09," and "Helen of Utah, Queen of Athletes."

Miriam excelled as a writer and researcher and, in addition to editing manuscripts, she produced a few of her own for the *Utah Historical Quarterly*: "The Working Women of Salt Lake City: A Review of the Utah Gazetteer, 1892–93," appearing in a special issue on women; "Sarah Elizabeth Carmichael: Poetic Genius of Pioneer Utah"; and the popular "If only I shall have the Right Stuff: Utah Women in World War I." In commemoration of the Utah centennial, Murphy wrote twenty entries for the *Utah History Encyclopedia* edited by Allen Kent Powell and published by the University of Utah Press in 1994. Recognizing Miriam's talent as a fine researcher and writer, the Wayne County Commission commissioned Miriam to write a history of Wayne County as part of the acclaimed twenty-nine county centennial history series. Her scholarship was also later published in *The Skeleton in Grandpa's Barn and other Stores of Growing Up in Utah*, edited by Layton and published by Signature Books in 2008. She provided a number of fun Utah history trivia essays in *Utah Trivia*, co-edited by her colleague at the Utah State Historical Society, Kent Powell. This delightful and quizzical volume was published in Nashville by Rutledge Press in 1997.

Miriam expanded her creative writing talent to poetry, and her collection of poetry *That Green Light that Lingers: Poems* was first published in 2001.

The naming of the Miriam B. Murphy Editorial Fellow by the *Utah Historical Quarterly* editors is wholly appropriate. Murphy was a consummate professional editor and colleague at the Utah State Historical Society.

— Craig Fuller

Formerly of the Utah State Historical Society

Thomas G. Alexander (1935 –)

Thomas G. Alexander was born in Logan and raised in Ogden. He received his associate degree in mechanical engineering from Weber State College in 1955 but gravitated toward history following his return from an LDS mission to Germany. With support from Dello Dayton at Weber, Tom applied to Utah State University, where he worked with George Ellsworth and Leonard Arrington. Ellsworth modeled excellence in the classroom and editorial skill, while Arrington modeled scholarly research and productivity. Tom married Marilyn Johns, a fellow Aggie, in 1959, received his BS in history in 1960, and earned a master's degree one year later after writing a thesis on conflict in Utah's territorial court system. Over his career Tom would return repeatedly to the broader

thematic focus of his thesis: the relationships of ideologically diverse groups within Utah. Tom continued his studies at the University of California at Berkeley, completing a dissertation on a topic recommended by Arrington: the interaction between the Interior Department and the territories of Utah, Idaho, and Arizona.

Fortunately for Utahns, Tom turned down an offer to teach California history at Fresno State and instead accepted a faculty appointment in the History Department at Brigham Young University, where he worked over the next four decades. Beginning in 1972 Tom served as Assistant and then Associate Director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at BYU and then as Director between 1980 and 1992. From 1992 to 2004 he was the Lemuel Hardison Redd, Jr. Professor of Western American History. Over his career, Tom has mentored and advised dozens of graduate students and numerous undergraduates. He received BYU's most prestigious faculty award, the Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Faculty Lecture Award, and developed upper-division and graduate courses, including a pioneering course in American environmental history.

Tom served the Utah State Historical Society as member of the Advisory Board of Editors and as a member and chair of the Board of State History. His appointment as a Fellow of the Utah State Historical Society acknowledged and recognized his extensive contributions to the society. Tom's professional services are legion, including service as president of the Association of Utah Historians; president of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters; president of the Mormon History Association; president of the Pacific Coast Branch-American Historical Association; president of Phi Alpha Theta, the national history honor society; national president of the Sons of Utah Pioneers; chair of the Utah Humanities Council; parliamentarian, council member, and honorary life member of the Western History Association; and member of the Editorial Board of *Western Historical Quarterly*.

Tom's publications in Utah, Mormon, and western American history are extensive. He has written, co-authored, or edited twenty-eight books including the official centennial history, *Utah, The Right Place*, a book that surveyed the history of the state in the twentieth century to a greater degree than any previous work. Other important books include *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (co-authored with James B. Allen), the award-winning *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930*; *Things of Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff*, and a forthcoming biography of Brigham Young. He is the author of over sixty articles in peer-reviewed journals, including twenty-seven in the *Utah Historical Quarterly,* numerous book chapters and encyclopedia articles, and nearly two hundred book reviews.

Tom is a diplomat, a problem solver, and a consensus builder. Known for his personal and professional honesty, Tom unites and brings out the best in his associates.

— Brian Q. Cannon

Charles Redd Center for Western Studies

2018–2019 UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY EDITORIAL FELLOWSHIP

Thomas G. Alexander Editorial Fellow

The Utah State Historical Society is seeking applicants for the graduate student fellowship at the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Supported by the Department of History at University of Utah and the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University, the editorial fellowship is a competitive award open to University of Utah History Department graduate students who have a demonstrated commitment to historical scholarship and public history. The fellow will be appointed for the academic year and will assist the quarterly in its publication, scholarship, and outreach initiatives, and will obtain valuable professional experience.

For consideration applicants will be required to submit a letter of interest, writing sample, and curriculum vitae. For more information, see history.utah.gov/uhq-editorial-fellow.

The fellow is appointed each academic year, rotating between the Thomas G. Alexander Editorial Fellow and the Miriam B. Murphy Editorial Fellow, named after two individuals who made a substantial contribution to the Utah State Historical Society and the study of Utah history.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

CHARLES REDD CENTER FOR WESTERN STUDIES

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1897

CONTRIBUTORS

CULLEN BATTLE is a retired lawyer with over thirty years of experience practicing in the areas of natural resources, land use, and public utilities law. His bachelor's and law degrees were from the University of Virginia, where he also served as editor of the *Virginia Journal of Natural Resources Law*. His connection to Mountain Dell stems from many years of hiking, mountain biking, and skiing there. He has worked as a volunteer trail groomer for the Mountain Dell Nordic Ski Area and is a member of The Utah Nordic Alliance (TUNA).

NOEL A. CARMACK is associate professor of art at Utah State University Eastern in Price, Utah. He received a BFA in illustration (1993) and an MFA in drawing/painting (1997), both from Utah State University. In addition to producing his own artwork, Carmack has done significant research on the visual art and culture of nineteenth-century Mormonism. Carmack has published on these and other topics in *BYU Studies, Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, Utah Historical Quarterly,* and the *Journal of Mormon History*.

CLINT PUMPHREY has worked as the manuscript curator in Utah State University's Special Collections and Archives since 2011. Previously, he was employed as the National Register Historian for the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program. Clint holds a master's degree in history from USU and received his Digital Archives Specialist certificate in 2014.

SCOTT THOMAS is an independent researcher in Provo, Utah. He earned a bachelor's degree with University Honors and a master's degree in American history from Brigham Young University. His master's thesis was a history of extralegal violence in territorial Utah, and his historical research and writing currently focuses on social and religious movements in the American West.

Young skiers, all smiles, at the December 21, 1963, dedication of Treasure Mountain, a ski resort in Park City. The resort was conceived as a way to breathe life into a community that in 1951, only a dozen years previous, had been designated a ghost town. Before then, Park City was a thriving mining community from valuable ores extracted from such mines as the Ontario and Silver King. The name Treasure Mountain suggested the rich mining history that animated the town. United Park City Mines (UPCM) ran with the idea of a ski area in Park City and converted its landholdings into a winter attraction complete with the Summit House restaurant, Prospector chairlift, a gondola and base building, a J-bar, and a rope tow. Workers at the resort included former miners, and UPCM even converted a mine train into an underground ski lift—supposedly the world's first—for the 1964–65 season. UPCM owned the resort until 1971; Park City Mountain Resort, as it is currently called, is now owned by Vail Resorts. (USHS)

Outside the Denver and Rio Grande Depot, 1910. *Utah State Historical Society*

UTAH DIVISION OF STATE HISTORY
UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BOARD OF STATE HISTORY

Dina Blaes, 2017, Salt Lake City, Chair
Steve Barth, 2019, Murray
John B. D'Arcy, 2018, Salt Lake City
Yvette Donosso, 2019, Sandy
Ken Gallacher, 2018, Riverton
David Rich Lewis, 2019, Logan
Deanne G. Matheny, 2017, Lindon
Steven Lloyd Olsen, 2017, Heber City
David Scott Richardson, 2019, Salt Lake City
Patty Timbimboo-Madsen, 2019, Plymouth
Wesley Robert White, 2017, Salt Lake City

ADMINISTRATION

Brad Westwood, Director and State Historic Preservation Officer

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY FELLOWS

Leonard J. Arrington (1917–1999)
David L. Bigler (1927–2018)
Fawn M. Brodie (1915–1981)
Juanita Brooks (1898–1989)
Olive W. Burt (1894–1981)
Eugene E. Campbell (1915–1986)
Everett L. Cooley (1917–2006)
C. Gregory Crampton (1911–1998)
S. George Ellsworth (1916–1997)
Austin E. Fife (1909–1986)
LeRoy R. Hafen (1893–1985)
A. Karl Larson (1899–1983)
B. Carmon Hardy (1934-2016)
Gustive O. Larson (1897–1983)
Brigham D. Madsen (1914–2010)
Dean L. May (1938–2003)
David E. Miller (1909–1978)
Dale L. Morgan (1914–1971)
William Mulder (1915–2008)
Helen Z. Papanikolas (1917–2004)
Charles S. Peterson (1927–2017)
Wallace E. Stegner (1909–1993)
William A. Wilson (1933-2016)
Thomas G. Alexander
James B. Allen
Will Bagley
Maureen Ursenbach Beecher
Martha Bradley-Evans
Max J. Evans
Peter L. Goss
Michael W. Homer
Joel Janetski
Jeffery Ogden Johnson
William P. MacKinnon
Carol Cornwall Madsen
Wilson Martin
Robert S. McPherson
Philip F. Notarianni
Floyd A. O'Neil
Allan Kent Powell
Richard W. Sadler
Gary L. Shumway
Melvin T. Smith

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS

Curt Bench
Craig Fuller
Marlin K. Jensen
Stanford J. Layton
William P. MacKinnon
John S. McCormick
F. Ross Peterson
Richard C. Roberts
Melvin T. Smith
Linda Thatcher
Gary Topping
Richard E. Turley Jr.

The activity that is the subject of this journal has been financed in part with Federal funds from the National Park Service and U.S. Department of the Interior and administered by the State Historic Preservation Office of Utah. The contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior or the Utah State Historic Preservation Office, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior or the Utah State Historic Preservation Office.

This program receives Federal financial assistance for identification and protection of historic properties. Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, as amended, the U.S. Department of the Interior prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, disability, or age in its federally assisted programs. If you believe you have been discriminated against in any program, activity, or facility as described above, or if you desire further information, please write to: Office for Equal Opportunity, National Park Service, 849 C Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20240.

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF UTAH HISTORY

BACK COVER

— Armstrong Farm at Mountain Dell by Dan Weggeland.
Courtesy of Richard Murray.

FRONT COVER

— University of Utah students protesting Earl Jones not being granted tenure due to his anti-war activism, ca. 1970.
J. Willard Marriott Library.

IN THIS ISSUE

Ghosts of Mountain Dell
Utah's Antiwar Movement

Daggett County at 100
Analyzing Local Histories